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THE

HISTORY

OF

GREECE.

By WILLIAM MITFORD, Esq.

VOL. I.

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THE

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CHAPTER I.

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SECTION I.

State of the World before the first Accounts of Greece.—Assyria, Syria, and Egypt civilized; the rest barbarous or uninhabited. Geographical Description of Greece. Unsettled Population of the early Ages. Spirit of War and Robbery. Phenician Navigation in the Grecian Seas, and Settlements on the Coasts.

SECT. I.

The first accounts of Greece are derived from ages long before the common use of letters in the country; yet among its earliest traditions we find many things highly interesting. Known at an era far beyond all history of any other part of Europe, its people nevertheless preserved report of the time when their country was uninhabited, and their forefathers lived elsewhere. Among the effects of this extreme antiquity, one is particularly remarkable: the oldest traditionary memorials of Greece relate, not to war and conquest, generally the only materials for the annals of barbarous ages, but to the invention or

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introduction of institutions the most indispensable to political society, and of arts even the most necessary to human life. Hence, while the origin of other antient nations is matter only of conjecture for the antiquarian, that of the Grecian people seems to demand some inquiry from the historian. Indeed here, as on many other occasions, the historian of Greece will have occasion to exercise his caution and forbearance, not less than his diligence, while he traverses regions where curiosity and fancy may find endless temptation to wander: but the earliest traditions of that country interest in so many ways, and through so many means, that he would scarcely be forgiven the omission of all consideration of the times to which they relate.

It has been not uncommon, for the purpose of investigating the properties of human nature and the progress of society, to consider MAN in a state absolutely uncultivated; full-grown, having all the powers of body and mind in mature perfection, but wholly without instruction or information of any kind. Yet whatsoever advantages may be proposed from speculation upon the subject, it may well be doubted whether a human pair in such a state ever really existed; and if we proceed to inquire whence they could come, the fortuitous concurrence of atoms, fancied by Democritus and Epicurus, will be found perhaps as probable an origin for them as it is possible for imagination to devise. But since the deep researches of modern philosophers in natural history, assisted by the extensive discoveries of modern navigators, through the great inlargement of our acquaintance with the face of our globe, have opened so many new sources of wonder, without affording any adequate means to arrive at the causes of the phenomena, new objections have been made to the

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Mosaïc history of the first ages of the world; which, it has been urged, must have been intended to relate, not to the whole earth, but to those parts only with which the Jewish people had more immediate concern. Many, however, and insuperable as the difficulties occurring in that concise historical sketch may be, some arising from extreme antiquity of idiom, some perhaps from injury received in multifarious transcription, and others from that allegorical style, always familiar and always in esteem in the East[1], invention still has never been able to form any theory equally consistent with the principles of the most inlightened philosophy[2], or equally consonant to the most authentic testimonies remaining from remotest ages, whether transmitted by human memory, or borne in the face of nature. The traditions of all nations, and appearances in every country, bear witness, scarcely less explicitly than the writings of Moses, to that general flood which nearly destroyed the whole human race; and the ablest Greek authors, who have attempted to trace the history of mankind to its source, all refer to such an event for the beginning of the present system of things on earth[3]. Not therefore to inquire after that state of man, wholly untaught and unconnected, which phi-

[1] The original and principal purpose of that allegorical style which, whatever its advantages, or whatever its inconveniences, the wisest men of antiquity never imputed either to fraud or folly in the writer, seems well explained in few words by Macrobius: Philosophi, si quid de his (summo Deo et mente) assignare conantur, quæ non sermonem tantummodo, sed cogitationem quoque humanam superant, ad similitudines & exempla confugiunt. Somn. Scip. l. i. c. .2. This subject is learnedly treated in the 3d and 6th volumes of Bishop Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses [8vo. ed. 1811;] and ingeniously commented upon in Governor Pownall's Treatise on the Study of Antiquities.

[2] See Pownall's Treatise, p. 130.

[3] See particularly the beginning of Plato's third Dialogue on Legislation.

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losophers have invented for purposes of speculation; nor to attempt, which were indeed beyond our object, the tracing of things regularly to their origin through the obscure and broken path alone afforded by the Hebrew writers; the subject before us seems to refer more particularly, for its source, to a remarkable fact mentioned by those writers, to which strong collateral testimony is found, both in the oldest heathen authors, and in the known course of human affairs. Mankind, according to the most antient of historians, considerably informed and polished, but inhabiting yet only a small portion of the earth, was inspired generally with a spirit of migration. What gave at the time peculiar energy to that spirit, which seems always to have existed extensively among men, commentators have indeed, with bold absurdity, undertaken to explain; but the historian himself has evidently intended only general, and that now become obscure information[4]. All history, however, proves that such a spirit has operated over the far greater part of the globe; and we know that it has never yet ceased to actuate, in a greater or less degree, a large portion of mankind; among whom the numberless hords yet wandering over the immense continent, from the north of European Turkey to the north of China, are remarkable. The Mosaïc writings then, the general tenor of tradition

Genesis, c. 10. & 11.

[4] 'The schemes that men of warm imagination have raised 'from a single expression in the Bible, and sometimes from 'the supposition of a fact nowhere to be found, are astonish-'ing. If you believe the Hebrew doctors, the language of 'men, which till that time (the building of Babel) had been 'ONE, was divided into seventy languages. But of the miracu-'lous division of languages there is not one word in the Bible.' Dissertation on the Origin of Languages, by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, second ed. p. 24, where are some judicious observations on the Mosaïc account of the dispersion of mankind.

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preserved by heathen authors[5], and the most authentic testimonies, of every kind, of the state of things in the early ages; vestiges of art and monuments of barbarism, the unknown origin of the most abstruse sciences, and their known transmission from nation to nation; all combine to indicate the preservation of civility and knowlege, under favor of particular circumstances, among a small part of mankind; while the rest, amid innumerable migrations, degenerated into barbarians and savages.

The provinces bordering upon the river Euphrates, supposed by many to have been the first settled after the flood, were certainly among the first that became populous. Here, from the climate, the wants of man are comparatively few, and those plentifully supplied, by a soil of exuberant fertility, level to a vast extent, naturally unincumbered with wood, and consequently little exposed to depredation from beasts of prey[6]. The families remaining in this country were not likely soon to lose the civility, the arts, and the science of their forefathers. Accordingly, whether they retained, or whether they invented, astronomy and dialling existed among the Babylonians at a period beyond all means of investigating their rise; and notwithstanding the deep obscurity in which the origin of letters is involved, we still can trace every known alphabet to the neighbourhood at least of Babylon.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 193. Strab. l. 16.

Herodot. l. 2. 109.

Of the families who went in quest of new settlements, or who wandered, perhaps many of them,

[5] This has been largely collected by Mr. Bryant, in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology.

[6] The geography of this country has been investigated, and Herodotus's account of it confirmed, by the diligence and judgement of Mr. Gibbon, in his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

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without any decided intention of settling, those who took possession of Egypt seem to have been the most fortunate. That singular country, given, by its situation among deserts, to injoy more than insular security, offered, in wonderful abundance, the necessaries of life. Its periodical floods, which, to the unexperienced, might appear ministers only of desolation, would be known, by those who had seen the Euphrates or Tigris periodically overflow their banks, to be among the most precious boons of nature. For, from the operation of the waters of the Nile, almost the whole of that strictly called Egypt, receives a kind of tillage, as well as a very rich manuring; so that, beside producing spontaneously a profusion of herbs and roots, nearly peculiar to itself, which form a coarse but wholesome food, it is moreover very advantageously prepared, by the hand of nature almost alone, for the reception of any grain that man may throw into it. Thus invited, the occupants of Egypt gave their attention to agriculture: and, the fertility of the soil making the returns prodigiously great, populousness quickly followed abundance; polity became necessary; and we are told that in this country was constituted the first regular government: by which seems to be meant, the first government in which various rights, and various functions, were regularly assigned to different ranks of men. Science appears to have originated in Asia. Of the arts, Egypt was probably the mother of many, as she was certainly the most; the sciences at the same time receiving attention in proportion nearly to their supposed importance for civil life. Geometry is said to have been the offspring of the peculiar necessity of the country; for the annual overflowing of the Nile obliterating ordinary landmarks, that science alone could ascertain the bounda-

Diodor. Sic. l. 1. c. 10. & 43, & 80.

Herodot. l. 2. c. 109. Diod. l. 1. c. 81.

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ries of property. The very erroneous calculation of the year, probably carried from Asia into Greece, if ever admitted in Egypt, received early there very valuable improvement, by the addition of intercalary days, through which three hundred and sixty-five were given to the twelve months.

Strab. l. 16. p. 757. & 787. Herodot. l. 2. c. 4.

The singularly daring and unfeeling hardiness, attributed by the Roman lyrist, to the man who first committed himself in a frail bark to the winds and waves, appears by no means necessary for the origin of navigation. In so warm a climate as the middle of Asia, bathing would be a common refreshment and recreation; and the art of swimming, especially when so many terrestrial animals were seen to swim untaught, could not be long in acquiring. The first attempt at the management of a boat was thus deprived of all terror: and as it could not escape observation that wood floated naturally, and that the largest bodies floating were easily moved, the construction and use of canoes[7] required no great stretch of invention. Every circumstance therefore leads to suppose, that vessels of that simple contrivance were employed on rivers before the first emigrations took place. The occupants of Phenicia, coming to the coast of the Mediterranean with these slender rudiments of naval knowlege, would find many inducements to attempt the improvement of the art. Their country, little fruitful in corn, but abounding with the finest timber, had a ready communication by sea and the mouths of the Nile with Egypt; which, with all its fertility, being almost confined to the production of annual plants, had occasion for many things that Phenicia could supply. Thus arose commerce.

Horat. ode 3. l. 1.

[7] Called by the Greeks Μονόξυλα.

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Not then to extend inquiry to those remote and inhospitable, tho polished regions of the East, whose history is known only from writings without an alphabet, and where the study of a long life scarcely suffices for learning to read; nor to hazard any decision concerning the mysterious claims of a people, somewhat less remote, and who appear to have injoyed early the use of letters, but whose riches, and whose weakness have conspired to expose them, from times beyond certain tradition, to continual revolutions and constant subjugation; among the inhabitants of the earth, westward at least of the Indus, the Assyrians, and the Egyptians, with the people of the countries immediately about or between them, seem alone never to have sunk into utter barbarism. Assyria was a powerful empire, Egypt a most populous country governed by a very refined polity, and Sidon an opulent city, abounding with manufactures and carrying on extensive commerce, when the Greeks, ignorant of the most obvious and necessary arts, are said to have fed upon acorns[8]. Yet was Greece the

[8] Some writers, confining their ideas to the acorn of the English oak, have expressed a doubt if it were a food on which men could subsist. But it is to be observed, that *acorn*, *glans*, *βάλανος*, have been used in their several languages as general terms, denoting all the various fruits of the acorn and mast kind. Our old herbalist Gerard, after Galen and Pliny, reckons chesnuts among acorns, and Xenophon calls dates *βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων*, palm acorns, (Anab. l. 2. c. 3. sec. 9.) That the acorn or mast of a tree common in Greece would afford a wholesome nourishment for men, and yet that, in civilized times, it was not a very favourite food, we may learn from a passage in Plato's Republic, where Socrates, specifying the diet to which he would confine his citizens, proposes to allow them *μύρτα καὶ φηγούς*, myrtle-berries, and mast or acorns; to which Glaucon replies, 'If you were establishing a colony of swine, what other 'food would you give them?' (Plat. de repub. l. 2. p. 372. t. 2. ed. Serran.) Pausanias informs us that acorns continued long to be a common food of the Arcadians; not, however, he says, the acorns of all oaks, *τῶν δρυῶν πασῶν* but only of that called *fagus*, *φηγός*, (Pausan. l. 8. c. 1. p. 599.) Pliny also bears testi-

first country of Europe that emerged from the savage state; and this advantage it seems to have owed intirely to its readier means of communication with the civilized nations of the East. SECT. I.

The migrating hordes mostly found countries overgrown with wood, and inhabited only by beasts. Hunting was their ready resource for a livelihood: arms their first necessaries: their life was thus spent in action: they spred far, had few neighbours; and with those few, little intercourse. Such people were inevitably barbarous: but they would, much

mony to the superior merit of the acorn of the fagus, *dulcissima omnium glans fagi;* probably having the indigenous trees of Italy only then in his contemplation; for chesnuts, he tells us, were not such, having been imported from Lydia. (Hist. Nat. l. 15. c. 23.) What the tree thus spoken of by the name of *fagus* was, remains to be ascertained. I have never heard or read of acorns used as food for men in modern Italy; but in Spain, according to a living traveller of diligent inquiry and undoubted veracity, the peasants of the mountains, on the confines of Catalonia and Valentia, live most part of the year upon roasted acorns of the evergreen oak; a food which, he adds, he and his fellow traveller, sir Thomas Gascoyne, 'found surprizingly savory and palatable, tho not very nourishing;' (Swinburne's Travels through Spain, letter 2, p. 85.) And in the account of a still later journey through Spain, the following testimony occurs: 'For the first two leagues (in the way 'from Salamanca to Alba) we ascended gradually; then entered 'a forest of ilex, which, as my guide informed me, stretches 'east and west near forty leagues. The acorns here are of 'the kind described by Horace, as the origin of war among the 'rude inhabitants of an infant world, "glandem atque cubilia 'propter;" not austere, like those of the oak, or of the common ilex, but sweet and palatable, like the chesnut; they are 'food, not merely for swine, but for the peasants, and yield 'considerable profit.' Townsend's Journey through Spain, p. 91. v. 2.

I cannot help observing here, that Cæsar has been very arrogantly criticized for asserting that the *fagus*, and even for asserting that the *abies* was not in his time found in Britain; and, on the other hand, it has been absurdly enough contended, on his authority, that the beech is not indigenous in our island. It appears abundantly evident that the tree called φηγὸς, *fagus*, by Plato, Pausanius, and Pliny, was not the beech: Abete is

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sooner than more civilized people, give inhabitants to every part of the globe. Those who came to the western coast of Asia Minor would have many inducements to cross to the adjacent ilands. Security from savage beasts, and men as savage, would be the first solicitude of families; and this those ilands would seem to promise in a greater degree than the continent. Other ilands appearing beyond these, and beyond those again still others, navigation would here be almost a natural employment. The same inducements would extend to the coasts of the continent of Greece, indented as it is with gulfs, and divided into peninsulas. But Greece was very early known to the Egyptian and Phenician navigators; perhaps soon after its first population; and as no part of it was very distant from the sea, the whole thus participated of means for civilization which the rest of Europe wanted.

This country, called by the antient inhabitants HELLAS, by the Romans GRÆCIA, and thence by us GREECE, so singularly illustrious in the annals of mankind, was of small extent, being scarcely half so large as England, and not equal to a fourth of France or Spain. But as it has natural peculiarities which influenced, not a little, both the manners and the po-

the modern Italian name for the silver-fir; and we may reasonably believe that neither the silver-fir, nor that kind of evergreen oak which bears the sweet acorn, was in Cæsar's time to be found in Britain.

A few years ago, when the foregoing remarks were written, a kind of rage had been gaining over Europe for historical scepticism and historical invention; for overthrowing whatever accounts of early times have been transmitted on best authority, and imagining new schemes of antient history. Whatever check those deeply-interesting circumstances which have turned the attention of all minds from old history to new politics may have given to such fancies, I am still desirous to vindicate the just credit of such a writer as Cæsar, tho on a matter in itself so little important.

litical institutions of the inhabitants, a short geographical account of it may be a necessary introduction to its history. SECT. 1.

GREECE is included between the thirty-sixth and forty-first degrees of northern latitude, and is surrounded by seas, except where it borders upon EPIRUS and MACEDONIA. These two provinces were inhabited by a people who participated of the same origin with the Greeks, were of similar manners, and similar religion, and spoke a dialect of the same language; but we shall see in the sequel circumstances tending to hold the more southern Greeks, tho divided under numerous governments, still united as one people, to the exclusion of the Epirots and Macedonians. Of what, therefore, according to Strabo's phrase, was universally allowed to be Greece, THESSALY was the most northern province. It is an extensive vale, of uncommon fertility, completely surrounded by very lofty mountains. On the north, OLYMPUS, beginning at the eastern coast, divides it from Macedonia. Contiguous ridges extend to the CERAUNIAN mountains, which form the northern boundary of Epirus, and terminate, against the western sea, in a promontory called Acroceraunus, famed for its height and for storms. PINDUS forms the western boundary of Thessaly, and ŒTA the southern. Between the foot of mount Œta and the sea, is the famous pass of Thermopylæ, the only way, on the eastern side of the country, by which the southern provinces can be entered. The lofty, tho generally narrow ridge of PELION, forming the coast, spreads in branches to Œta, and is connected by Ossa with Olympus. The tract extending from Epirus and Thessaly to the Corinthian isthmus, and the gulfs on each side of it, contains the provinces of Acarnania, Ætolia, Doris, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia,

Strab. l. 7. p. 321.

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and Attica. Many branches from the vast ridges of Pindus and Œta spread themselves through this country. ÆTOLIA was everywhere defended by mountains with difficulty passable; excepting that the sea bounds it on the south, and the river ACHELOUS divides a small part of its western frontier from ACARNANIA. DORIS was almost wholly mountainous. The ridge of Parnassus effectually separated the eastern and western LOCRIANS. PHOCIS had one highly fruitful plain, but of small extent. BŒOTIA consisted principally of a rich vale with many streams and lakes; bounded on the north-east by the Opuntian gulf, touching southward on the Corinthian, and otherwise mostly surrounded by the mountains PARNASSUS, HELICON, CITHÆRON, and PARNES. The two latter formed the northern boundary of ATTICA; a rocky barren province, little fruitful in corn and less in pasture, but producing many fruits, particularly olives and figs, in abundance and perfection.

Strabo. l. 9. p. 416.

Southward of this tract lies the peninsula of PELOPONNESUS, not to be approached by land but across the Bœotian or Attic mountains, which on each side of the isthmus, rise precipitous from the sea, and shoot into the isthmus itself. The peninsula, according to the division of Strabo, contains Achaia[9],

[9] Or Achæa. It is in some instances difficult to decide what may be deemed the proper English orthography of Greek names. There was a time when the French fancy of altering foreign names to vernacular terminations prevailed with our writers. This inconvenient practice, utterly useless in a language which neither declines its nouns, nor has any certain form of termination for them, has long been justly exploded with us; and, excepting a very few, upon which custom has indelibly fixed its stamp, we write Latin names only as they are written in Latin. But the practice has prevailed of following the later Latin writers in their alterations of Greek names, insomuch that in regard to many circumstances the rule appears established. There

Argolis, Elis or Eleia, Arcadia, Messenia, and Laconia. ARCADIA, the central province, is a cluster of mountains, bearing, however, as on their shoulders, some plains, high above the level of the sea. Lofty ridges, the principal of which are TAYGETUS and ZAREX, branch through LACONIA to the two most southern promontories of Greece, TÆNARUM, and MALEA. Between these the EUROTAS runs: the vales are rich, but nowhere extensive. From CYLLENE, the most northern and highest of the Arcadian mountains, two other branches extend in a south-easterly direction; one to the ARGOLIC gulf, the other, by EPIDAURUS, to the SCYLLÆAN promontory, the most easterly point of the peninsula. These include the vale of ARGOS, remarkable for fruitfulness. ACHAIA is a narrow strip of country on the northern coast, pressed upon by the mountains in its whole length from CORINTH to DYME. To avoid confusion, however, in the political division of the country, it must be observed, that the Corinthian territory, and the Sicyonian, were distinct from that properly called Achaia, and, till a late period, were never included under the name[10]. ELIS and MESSENIA are less mountainous than the other Peloponnesian provinces. The latter particularly is not only the most level of the peninsula, and the best adapted to tillage, but, in general produce, the most fruitful of all Greece.

Like Italy, or more than Italy, in large proportion a rough and intractable country, Greece nevertheless

are, however, still circumstances in regard to which no respectable authority is to be found, and, for some, precedents vary. In this uncertainty of rule I have thought it best to approach always as near to the Greek orthography as the tyranny of custom, and, it should be added, the different nature of the alphabets, will permit.

[10] Pausanias, in a late age, attributes Corinthia and Sicyonia, not to Achaia but to Argolis. Pausan. l. 8. c. i.

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injoyed many great and even peculiar advantages. The climate is very various. The summer-heat generally great: the winter-cold in some parts severe: but the former brings the finest fruits to perfection; the latter braces and hardens the bodies of the inhabitants, while the sea nowhere very distant, assists extensively to temper both. The long winding range of coast abounds with excellent harbours. The low grounds afford rich herbage; the higher, corn, wine, and oil; and of the mountains, all producing pasture, some to a great extent were covered with variety of timber; some formed of the finest marble; some contained various valuable metals. And this variety in the surface which gives occasion to such various produce, affords at the same time variety of climate in every season of the year.

Descrip. Geog. du Golfe de Venise & de la Morée par Bellin.

The first emigrants who took possession of this country, if they retained the least relic of civility, could want no inducement to settle themselves in the rich and beautiful vales with which it abounds. Even the most savage, for the habitation of a family, would prefer a fruitful plain; especially where mountain-forests were every way at hand for the resource of hunting, when the vale, ill-cultivated or uncultivated, might no longer afford subsistence. But perhaps the beasts of prey, with which the old world has always been infested so much more than the new, have contributed not a little to the quicker progress of society and civilization. The first inhabitants of Greece could hardly subsist without mutual support against the ravenous beasts of the woods and mountains, which everywhere surrounded them. Lions had made their way into Europe; and, so late as the age of Herodotus, the breed remained in a long line of wild country, from the Achelous in Acarnania to the Nestus in Thrace. In the time of Hesiod and

Herod. l. 7. c. 125. 126.

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Homer, security against wild beasts was an important purpose of human society. Some degree of political association would therefore from the first be necessary to settlers in Greece: the inhabitants of every vale would constitute a state more or less regular.

But the spirit of migration seems not soon to have subsided among mankind. Many whole hordes, either dissatisfied with their settlements, or, like the Arabs and Tartars to this day, without a desire to settle, quitted the spots they had first chosen, and wandered still in quest of others[11], and it appears to have been a universal practice, when an eligible situation was overstocked with inhabitants, which might soon happen where, not only manufactures and commerce, but even agriculture was unknown or unpractised, to send out colonies, often to parts very distant. An instance occurs in holy writ, so illustrating many circumstances in early Grecian history, that it may be not improper to report it here. The patriarchs Esau and Jacob, having acquired large property in herds and flocks during their father's life, found their stock so increased by the inheritance on his death, that, according to the phrase in our translation, 'it was more than that they might 'dwell together.' The land of Canaan, whither their grandfather Abraham had migrated from Chaldæa, 'could not bear them because of their cattle.' In

Genesis, c. 35. v. 29. —c. 37. v. 1.

[11] Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, γενέσθαι τὰς ἐφόδους καὶ τας μεταναστάσεις συνέβη, τῶν τε βαρβάρων ἅμα καὶ των Ἑλλήνων ὁρμῇ τινι χρησαμένων πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κατάσασιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἦν ταῦτα· τό τε γὰρ Πελασγῶν ἦν φῦλον καὶ τῶν Καυκώνων καὶ Λελέγων· εἶρηται δ'ὅτι πολλαχῇ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐτύγχανε τοπαλαιὸν πλανώμενα. Strab. l. 12. p. 572. The Amsterdam edition of 1707 has πρὸς for πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν· evidently an error of the press, and indeed corrected in the Latin version: tho, it should be observed, the Latin version is by no means always to be trusted.

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these circumstances it was the choice of Esau, the elder brother, to emigrate. Land open to the first occupier was readily to be found, and land, perhaps for his purpose, preferable to that of Canaan. Moving accordingly with his followers and stock, he occupied mount Seir, and left the land of his father, as an insignificant part of the inheritance, to his younger brother.

Strab. l. 5. p. 221. & l. 7. p. 321. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 2.

In very early times we find Greece overrun by many different people, of whom the Greek writers in the most inlightened ages could give no satisfactory account. Some came by land from the north; some by sea from the east or south; some mixed amicably with the antient inhabitants; some subdued or expelled them. The rich vales, which without cultivation would give large support for cattle, were the coveted territories; and these were continually changing their possessors. Of the expelled, some wandered in quest of unoccupied vales; or in their turn drove out the inhabitants of the first they came to, if they found them weaker than themselves. Others took to the neighbouring mountains; and thence, harrassing the intruders, not unfrequently recovered in time their old settlement in the vale. When pressed by a superior force, any of them quitted their possessions with little regret; 'thinking,' as Thucydides observes, 'that a livelihood 'might be had anywhere, and anxious for nothing 'more: for being always uncertain when a more 'powerful clan might covet their territory, they had 'little incouragement to build, or plant, or provide 'in any way farther than for present need.'

Greece thus, in its early days, was in a state of perpetual maroding and piratical warfare. Cattle, as the great means of subsistence, were first the great object of plunder. Then, as the inhabitants

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of some parts by degrees settled to agriculture, men, women, and children were sought for slaves. But Greece had nothing more peculiar than its adjacent sea; where small ilands were so thickly scattered, that their inhabitants, and in some measure those of the shores of the surrounding continents also, were mariners by necessity, and almost by nature. Water-expeditions, therefore, were soon found most commodious for carrying off spoil. The Greeks, moreover, in their most barbarous state, became acquainted with the value of the precious metals: for the Phenicians, whose industry, ingenuity, and adventurous spirit of commerce, led them early to explore the farthest shores of the Mediterranean, and even to risk the dangers of the ocean beyond, discovered mines of gold and silver in some of the ilands of the Ægean, and on its northern coast. They formed establishments in several of the ilands; and Thasus, which, having itself mines of both silver and gold, lay conveniently also for communication with the most productive of the continent, became the seat of their principal factory. Thus was offered the most powerful incentive to piracy, in a sea whose innumerable ilands and ports afforded singular opportunity for the practice. Perhaps, as Homer, not less than the later Grecian authors, insinuates, the conduct of the Phenicians towards the uncivilized nations, among whom the desire of gain led them, was not always the most upright or humane. Hostilities would naturally insue; and hence might first arise the estimation of piracy, which long prevailed among the Greeks as an honorable practice. But whencesoever this opinion had its origin, however deserving the utmost reprobation, and however even unaccountable it may appear to civilized

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 5.

Strab. l. 3. p. 169. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 8. Herodot. l. 2. c. 44. & l. 6. c. 47.

Odyss. l. 20. c. 414.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 5.

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people who have no intercourse with barbarians, it will yet be found that equal degrees of civility and of barbarism have occasioned manners and sentiments nearly similar in all ages and all nations. It is not very long since robbery was held in esteem among the native Irish; and a hospitable highland Scottish chief, proud of his fabled descent from kings and heroes, would have boasted of his atchievements in that way: in Sicily such sentiments even yet prevail; and among all the Arabian tribes, from the middle of Asia to the end of Africa, the idea of union between honor and robbery has been transmitted unaltered through hundreds of generations.

Pennant's Account of Scotland.

Brydone's Account of Sicily.

Wood on Homer.

SECTION II.

Of the southern Provinces of Greece from the earliest Accounts to the Trojan War. Crete: Minos. Sicyon. Corinth. Argos: Pelasgian Dominion in Greece: Egyptian Colonies in Greece: Danaüs: Acrisius: Perseus. Pisa: Colonies from Phrygia and Thessaly under Pelops. Hercules. Atreus: Dominion of the Family of Pelops. Agamemnon. Lacedæmon.

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Such was the wild and barbarous state of Greece in general, when Crete, the largest of its ilands, had acquired a polity singularly regular, attended of course with superior civilization. In vain however would we inquire at what precise period, in what state of society, by what exertions of wisdom and courage, and through what assistance of fortunate contingencies, so extraordinary a work was accomplished: for many centuries elapsed before written records became common; and traditions are vague, various,

Before Christ 1006, Newton's Chronology, 1406, Blair's Chronology.

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and, for the most part, inexplicably mixed with fable. Crete is thus a great object for the dissertator and the antiquarian. Curiosity is excited by those scanty glimmerings of information, which have preserved to us the names of the Cabeiri, Telchines, Curetes, Corybantes, Idæi Dactyli, with Saturn, Jupiter, and other personages, either of this iland, or connected with it in mysterious history. Still more it is excited by that system of laws, which, in an age of savage ignorance, violence, and uncertainty among surrounding nations, inforced civil order, and secured civil freedom to the Cretan people; which was not only the particular model of the wonderful polity, so well known to us through the fame of Lacedæmon, but appears to have been the general fountain of Grecian legislation and jurisprudence; and which continued to deserve the eulogies of the greatest sages and politicians, in the brightest periods of litterature and philosophy.

Strab. l. 10. p. 466.

Plat. Minos, & de Leg. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. Strab. l. 10. p. 480, 481. Plutarch Lycurg. Strab. l. 10. p. 477. Plat. de Leg. l. 1. p. 631. t. 2. ed. Serran.

The glory of this establishment is generally given to Minos, a prince of the iland; whose history was however so dubiously transmitted to posterity, that it remained undecided among Grecian writers, whether he was a native or a foreiner. Some indeed attributed the final improvement only to Minos, referring the first institution to Rhadamanthus, in a still earlier age; and some have supposed two princes of the name of Minos, in different periods. The evidence of Homer, however, tho delivered partly in the enigmatical language in which poetry often indulges, appears to determine that Minos, the only Minos whom he knew, and, it may be added, whom Aristotle knew, was not of Cretan origin, but a chief of adventurers from Phenicia; that Rhadamanthus was not his predecessor, but his younger brother;

Arist. Polit. Hom. Il. l. 13. v. 450. & Odssy. l. 19. v. 178. Strab. l. 10. p. 480. Diodor. Sic. l. 4. c. 62. & l. 5. c. 79.

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 10.

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and that he was himself the great and original legislator. We are indeed without materials for any connected history of Crete, even after the age of Minos; but there remains, from the most respectable authorities, a general account of its polity. This will however not obtain, from the liberal spirit of modern Europe, that full approbation which it earned from antiquity. It rested upon two principles; that freemen should be all equal; and that they should be served by slaves. The lawgiver therefore allowed no private property in land, nor scarcely in anything. The soil was cultivated by slaves, on the public account: the freemen ate together at public tables, and their families were subsisted from the public stock. The monarch's authority, as, we shall find, generally through Greece in the early ages, was, except in war, extremely limited. The magistracies were wisely adapted to the spirit of the government. A severe morality was in some instances inforced by law. The youth, in the course of an education particularly directed to form soldiers, were restrained to the strictest modesty and temperance; superiority was the meed only of age and merit. But while a comparatively small society thus lived in just freedom, and honorable leisure, a much larger portion of mankind was, for their sakes, doomed to rigid and irredeemable slavery.

Plat. de Leg. l. 1. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 9. & 10.

Plat. de Leg. l. 1. p. 635. p. 626. & l. 2. p. 666. Aristot. Polit. l. 7. c. 2.

It is difficult to account for the first establishment of such a system, but upon the supposition that a band of adventurers, from the polished countries of the east, seizing the lands, like the Spaniards in the West-Indian ilands, deprived the antient inhabitants of arms, and compelled them to labor. Accordingly we find it remarked that the Cretan constitution was not that of a civil, but of a military community;

not so much of a state as of a camp[12]. Yet Homer enumerates five different hords in Crete, using different dialects; all apparently free; for slaves are never reckoned among the people of a Grecian state; and all subject to the laws and government of Minos. But thus one people, under three names, Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, conquered our iland; and if we add the Danes, Norwegians, and Normans, who afterwards became its masters, they were all members of one nation. Homer also mentions the wealth and populousness of Crete, the wisdom of the legislator, and his singular favor with Jupiter: but the account goes no farther; and after Homer the traditions concerning Minos became peculiarly loaded with fable.

Odyss. l. 19. v. 175.

Ibid. & Iliad. l. 2. v. 65.

Some circumstances, however, of principal importance, seem to remain sufficiently warranted for history. From a strong concurrence of testimony it appears that Minos was an able prince, who availed himself of advantages open to him from the command of a people formed to regular government, and not unacquainted with useful arts. Against those pirates, who infested every part of the Grecian seas, he kept armed vessels in constant employ; and his measures were so vigorous and judicious that he established security throughout the Ægean. Hence he has the credit, among historians, of having been the first Grecian prince who acquired the sovereinty of the sea. By means of his fleet, he extended his authority far among the ilands: he was respected throughout the coast of the neighboring continents;

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 3. Plat. Minos, & de Leg. l. 4. p. 706. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 3. & 4. Dionys. Hal. Anti. Rom. l. 5.

Herod. l. 1. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 4. Plat. Minos. Arist. Polit. l. 2. c. 10. Plutarch vit. Thes. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 7.

[12] Στρατοπέδου γὰρ πολιτείαν ἔχετε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἄστεσι κατωκηκότων. Plat. de Leg. l. 2. p. 266. Vid. & Plat. de Leg. l. 1. p. 626. & Aristot. Polit. l. 7. c. 2. So Isocrates of the Lacedæmonian constitution: Πολιτείαν ὁμοίαν κατεσησάμεθα στρατοπέδῳ καλῶς διοικουμένῳ. Archid. p. 66. t. 2. ed. Auger.

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Before the reign of this great prince, as that early and able historian Thucydides assures us, such had been the excesses of piracy, that all the shores, both of the continent and ilands of Greece, were nearly deserted: the ground was cultivated only at a secure distance from the sea, and there only towns and villages were to be found. But no sooner was the evil repressed, than the active temper of the Greeks led them again to the coast: the most commodious havens were occupied; the spirit of adventure and industry, which had before been exerted in robbery, was turned to commerce; and, as wealth accrued, towns were fortified, so as to secure them against a renewal of former evils. I. 1. c. 8.

In earlier times, however, some settlements had been made, capable of resisting piratical attempts from the sea, or incursions of wandering freebooters by land. SICYON, on the northern coast of Peloponnesus, claimed, in the civilized ages, to be the oldest town of Greece. A town implies not only an intention of settled occupancy, but also some provision against occurrences, of whatsoever kind, that might renew the necessity of migration. Some municipal government is indispensable. The town then, having more to apprehend than to hope from any political connection with the rude people from whom it sprung, undertakes to suffice for itself, and becomes an independent state. Thus, or at least partly thus, it seems to have been that the Greek word, which we commonly translate CITY, came to signify, together with the town, its municipal government; and when we read in Grecian authors of a city founded, it is generally by the same words implied that an independent government was established. A long list

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of names is transmitted, as of chiefs who ruled Sicyon with that title which, in process of ages, acquired more precisely the same import with our term of King. But this list comes wholly unwarranted by Grecian writers of best authority. The history of the kings of Sicyon is moreover as uninteresting as uncertain; and, till a very late period, the state they governed made little figure in the affairs of Greece.

The happier situation of CORINTH, founded in a very early age in the neighbourhood of Sicyon, perhaps prevented the growth of the elder town. Near the south-western point of the neck that joins Peloponnesus to northern Greece, and within the same rich plain in which Sicyon stands, a mountain-ridge, scarcely three miles long, rises to a height, remarkable even in a country of lofty mountains. The summit is at the northern extremity: three sides are precipices almost perpendicular; and, even on the fourth, ascent is difficult. Little beneath the pointed vertex is a plentiful source of pure water; which, so situated, might help the poets to the fancy that there the winged horse Pegasus, drinking, was caught by Bellerophon. This most advantageous, and nearly inexpugnable post, by the name of Acrocorinthus, became the citadel; and at its foot grew the town of Corinth, which, as early as Homer's time, was noted for wealth acquired by commerce. For by land it was the key of communication between northern and southern Greece; and by sea it became, through its ports, one on the Saronic, the other on the Corinthian gulf, the emporium for all that passed between the east and the west, as far as Asia on one side, and Italy and Sicily on the other; the passage round the southern promontories of Peloponnesus being so dangerous, to coasting navigators, that it was generally avoided. Among the early princes of

Strab. l. 8. p. 379. Liv. Hist. Rom. l. 45. c. 28. Pausan. l. 2. c. 5. Wheeler's Journey into Greece, b. 6. p. 440. Pind. Olymp. 13.

Homer. Iliad. l. 2. v. 570. & Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13.

Strab. l. 8. p. 378.

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Corinth were Sisyphus, Glaucus, and Bellerophon or Bellerophontes; names to which poetry has given fame, but not delivered down to us objects of history.

The pretensions of Sicyon, however, to superior antiquity among the cities of Greece, are not undisputed; for Argos, which was certainly the first to acquire political eminence, has also been esteemed, by some of the most judicious antiquarians, to have had the more plausible claim to the earliest origin. It is said to have been founded by Inachus, son of the ocean; a title which, in the language of the age, might possibly imply that the bearer came from beyond sea, nobody knew whence; or perhaps from the banks of the Nile, which is said to have borne, in early times, the name of Ocean. But some Grecian writers have doubted whether Inachus were ever really the name of a man, or only of a small river near Argos; and these attribute the foundation of the city to Phoroneus, whom the others call son of Inachus. The age of Phoroneus was indeed the term beyond which, as Plato assures, nothing was known of Greece; and the more probable tradition concerning the origin of Sicyon supposed its founder, Ægialeus, cotemporary and even brother of Phoroneus.

Pausan. l. 2. c. 15.

Diod. l. 1.

Plat. Timæus, p. 22. t. 3. ed. Serran.

The chronology of these times will, however, be the subject of future inquiry; which yet, it may here be confessed, cannot lead to certainty. It has been computed by chronologers, who have found credit with some of the most learned even of the present age, that Sicyon was founded two thousand and eighty-nine years before the Christian era, and only two hundred and fifty-nine after the Flood: that the foundation of Argos followed after a period of two hundred and thirty-three years, and that

Blair's Chronological Tables.

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Newton's Chronology.

reign of Minos in Crete was still four hundred fifty years later. Sir Isaac Newton's conjecture, more consonant to the most authoritative traditions concerning the train of events, is, that Sicyon and Argos may have been founded nearly together, about one thousand and eighty years before the Christian era, and less than eighty before the reign of Minos. Indeed from the traditions preserved by the oldest poets, and all the inquiries reported to us by the most judicious Grecian prose-writers concerning the antiquities of their country, it appears rather probable that scarcely a wandering hunter had ever set foot in Peloponnesus, so early as the period assigned by chronologers, even to the founding of Argos.

See Herodotus's account of the Pelasgians; Thucydides's Introduction; Plato, Aristotle, and most particularly Strabo, b. 7. p. 321. and b. 9. p. 401. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 3. Hom. Il. l. 2. v. 347. l. 10. v. 429. & l. 17. v. 288. & 301. Odyss. l. 15. v. 175. Herodot. l. 5. c. 26. l. 6. c. 136. l. 7. c. 42. Strab. l. 5. p. 221.

But towns are not usually at once built, and a new state formed, by the natives of a country. In the more common course of things they grow so imperceptibly, that not a rumor of their origin can remain. The accounts, therefore, which refer the foundation of the principal cities of Greece to particular eras and particular persons, mark them for colonies. Indeed, amid all the darkness and intricacy of early Grecian history, we find a strong concurrence of testimony to a few principal facts. It was a received opinion, among the most informed and judicious Grecian writers, that Greece was originally held by Barbarians; a term appropriated, in the florishing ages of the nation, as a definition for all people who were not Greeks. Among the uncertain traditions of various hords, who in early times overran the country, the PELASGIAN name is eminent. This name may be traced back into Asia: it is found in the ilands; and the people who bore it appear to have spred far on the continent of Europe, since

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they are reckoned among the earliest inhabitants of Italy. It was very generally acknowledged, as the accurate and judicious Strabo assures us, that the Pelasgians were antiently established all over Greece, and that they were the first people who became powerful there. Consonant to this we find every mention of the Pelasgians by Herodotus and Thucydides; from the former of whom we learn, that Pelasgia was once a general name for the country. But a passage of the poet Æschylus concerning this people, for its antiquity, its evident honesty, its probability, and its consistency with all other remaining evidence of best authority, appears to deserve particular notice. The Pelasgian princes, he says, extended their dominion over all the northern parts of Greece, together with Macedonia and Epirus, as far as the river Strymon eastward, and the sea beyond the Dodonæan mountains westward. Peloponnesus was not peopled so early: for Apis, apparently a Pelasgian chief, crossing the Corinthian gulf from Ætolia, and destroying the wild beasts, first made that peninsula securely habitable for men; and hence it had from him its most antient name Apia.

Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 1. Strab. l. 5. p. 220, 221. & l. 7. 327. Herod. l. 2. c. 56. Æschyl. Danaid. p. 316. ed. H. Steph.

It appears that, in a very remote period, some revolutions in Egypt, whose early transactions are otherwise little known to us, compelled a large proportion of the inhabitants to seek forein settlements.[13] To this event probably Crete owed its early civilization. Some of the best supported of antient Gre-

[13] That such revolutions, and more particularly that such migrations happened, appears not doubtful, tho the investigators of Egyptian antiquities disagree about both the circumstances of these events, and the persons principally concerned. See Shuckford's Connection of Sacred and Profane History, and Bryant's Analysis of Antient Mythology.

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cian traditions relate the establishment of Egyptian colonies in Greece; traditions so little accommodated to national prejudice, yet so very generally received, and so perfectly consonant to all known history, that, for their more essential circumstances, they seem unquestionable[14]. These settlers of course brought with them many oriental traditions; which, in process of ages, through the unavoidable incorrectness of oral delivery, became so blended with early Grecian story, that, when at length letters came into use, it was no longer possible to ascertain what was properly and originally Grecian, and what had been derived from Phenicia or Egypt. Hence the abundant source, and hence the unbounded scope of Grecian fable. Hence too the variety of ingenious but discordant fancies of so many learned men, concerning the truths which probably lie everywhere concealed under the alluring disguise, but which will also probably for ever evade any complete detection.

With all the intricacy of fable, however, in which early Grecian history is involved, the origin of the Greek nation from a mixture of the Pelasgian, and possibly some other barbarous hords, with colonies from Phenicia and Egypt, seems not doubtful. Argos, according to all accounts, was an Egyptian colony. We are told that the first chief, whether Inachus or Phoroneus, or whatever may have been his name, brought the wild natives of the neighborhood to submit to his government, introduced some form of religion among them, and made a progress toward their civilization. We can little expect ob-

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 3.

Pausan. l. 2. c. 15.

[14] They are confirmed by the concurring testimonies particularly of Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, with the added evidence of the popular poets Æschylus and Euripides.

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jects for history among traditions concerning the early state of such a colony. But the successors of Phoroneus have afforded ample matter for fable; which yet we find universally tinged with some reference to Egypt and the East. Io, daughter, of one of those princes, but of which is not agreed, had, according to poetical report, an amour with the god Jupiter, was by him transformed into a cow, in that shape travelled into Egypt, and there became a goddess. Herodotus gives no improbable account, if not of the origin of this fiction, yet of the origin of its connection with Grecian story; and, as it serves to mark the manners of the age, it may be worth relating. Some Phenician merchants, he says, brought a cargo of the manufactures of their country to Argos. The Grecian women, eager to procure toys and utensils which their own towns, yet without manufactures, did not furnish, came in numbers to the sea-shore. The Phenicians, to whom women were in the East very profitable merchandize, having allured or forced many into their vessels, and among them Io, daughter of the chief of the district, sailed away[15].

Æschyl. Prometh. ed. Danaid.

Herod.

Among the kings of Argos also we find another personage of great fame in poetry, the Egyptian Danaüs, whose fifty daughters, it is said, married on the same day the fifty sons of his brother Ægyptus, king of Egypt, and all, except Hypermnestra, wife of Lynceus, killed their husbands on the wedding-night. Of this family too we have some circum-

Schol. ad. v. 42. l. 1 Iliad.

[15] That these were probable circumstances we may judge from a similar story, related of different persons, by Homer, Odyss. l. 15. Mr. Bryant derives the story of Io from a very different origin. His supposition, however, does not at all impugn the credibility of Herodotus' anecdote, who leaves it wholly unaccounted for how the stolen princess should acquire, in a foreign country, the reputation of a goddess.

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stances related which characterize the times. Danaüs, through whatsoever cause, for reports are various, finding his situation uneasy in Egypt, imbarked with his family and what followers he could collect, to seek a settlement. Failing in an attempt to establish his colony in the iland of Rhodes, he proceeded to Peloponnesus, and landed near Argos, where Gelanor then reigned. The favor with which he was received by the rude inhabitants, or which he had the art quickly to acquire among them, was so extraordinary, that it inspired him with the confidence to demand the sovereinty of the state as his legal right. His claim, according to the tradition transmitted to us, had no better foundation than a pretended descent from the Argian princess, whose story has been just related. But if an Egyptian colony had before been established at Argos, an Egyptian prince might have other pretensions to interest, or even to command there. A different cause is, however, reported for his favor with the people. The Argians were so uninformed that, upon the failure of spontaneous fountains, they often suffered for want of water; tho the ground on which the city stood, abounded with excellent springs at little depth. Danaüs taught them to dig wells. The boon was, in a hot climate particularly, of high importance. The temper of the Greeks was warm: admiration and gratitude became the ruling passions at Argos, and produced an inclination toward Danaüs so violent, that Gelanor was constrained to admit him peaceably to plead his right to the sovereinty, before an assembly of the people, held for the purpose, in the fields without the city. The dispute, however, was so equally maintained, that it became necessary to defer the decision till the morrow. By daybreak accordingly, the people were crowding out

Isocrat. Helen. encom.

Diodor. l. 5. c. 58. Æschyl. Danaid. Pausan. l. 2. c. 19.

Strabo. l. 8. p. 371.

Pausan. ut sup.

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of the gate, when a wolf from the neighbouring mountains caught their attention, while he attacked a herd, grazing near the city-wall and killed the bull. This was taken as an omen declaring the divine will: the wolf was interpreted to signify the stranger, the bull their native prince, and the kingdom was adjudged to Danaüs. Whatever credit we give to the circumstances of these and similar stories, they convey to us at least the idea which the succeeding Greeks had of the manners, as well as of the history, of their ancestors. Probably they are not wholly unfounded: certainly they are not the invention of adulation and partiality; and they are the only memorials remaining to characterize those early ages.

Æschyl. Danaid. p. 316. ed. H. Steph.

The people of Argos, at the arrival of Danaüs, were according to Æschylus, Pelasgians, and subjects of a prince whose dominion extended over all Greece, including Epirus and Macedonia. Probably the Egyptian colony of Inachus or Phoroneus, little numerous, had been unable to maintain itself in independency against the antient chief of so extensive a territory. But Danaüs made his establishment firm: he transmitted it as an inheritance to his posterity; and such was the prevalence of his power and fame in Peloponnesus, that, according to Euripides, the people of that peninsula, before called Pelasgians, received from him the name of Danaäns, which remained to Homer's age.[16]

[16] Δαναὸς, ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατὴρ,
Ελθὼν εἰς Ἄργος, ὤκισεν Ἰνάχου πόλιν·
Πελασγιώτας δ' ὀνομασμένους τοπρὶν
Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα.
Strab. l. 5. p. 221. & l. 8. p. 371.

Æschylus calls Danaüs and his Egyptians Barbarians, and seems to consider the Pelasgians as true Greeks. Strabo, in a later age, speaks of the Pelasgians as barbarians: Πελασγοι καὶ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, b. 9. p. 410. But Ovid and Virgil, both much versed in the antient Grecian traditions, frequently use the

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Danaüs was succeeded in the sovereinty of Argos by Lynceus, his son-in-law, an Egyptian born. Acrisius, grandson of Lynceus, most known through the poets as father of the celebrated Danaë, would much more on another account demand the notice of history, were it possible to trace and connect the circumstances of his reign. We learn, however, only from scattered mention of him, that he acquired influence far beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus, and that he gave form and stability to a very important institution in the northern provinces of Greece, which will require more particular notice hereafter, as a principal efficient in uniting and holding together, as one people, the various hostile tribes who occupied the country. By what means his power became thus extended we are wholly uninformed. Some confused traditions only, of troubles toward the end of his reign, account for its decay. Perseus, son of Danaë, daughter of Acrisius, is the first Grecian recorded to posterity, even in poetry and fable, as great in deeds of arms. He stands therefore at the head of the list of those antient warriors, whose names the poetical genius of their country has made so singularly illustrious, but whose actions almost wholly elude the scrutiny of history. Perseus is the reputed founder of the city of Mycenæ, which he made the capital of his dominion. Argos was still governed by its own chief magistrate, with the title of king, but dependent upon the king of Mycenæ, who is styled by Homer, King of many ilands, and of ALL ARGOS: a term which, with that author, implied the whole of Peloponnesus. The tragic poets,

Pausan. l. 2. c. 16. Herodot. l. 2. c. 91.

Before Christ, About { 1000, Newton. 1313, Blair.

Strab. l. 8 p. 377. Pausan. l. 2. c. 15.

Iliad, l. 2. v. 108.

Pelasgian name as synonimous with *Greek;* and by the higher authority of Eurypides, we find Argos in Peloponnesus called Ἄργος Πελασγικὸν (Phœniss. v. 265). and the army of the Seven before Thebes, Πελασγικὸν στράτευμα. (Phœniss. v. 107.)

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to whose purposes the vicissitudes in the fortune of the two cities were little important, have, as Strabo has remarked, frequently used the names indifferently one for the other; but, in history, we shall find it necessary to avoid the confusion.

Strab. l. 7. p. 365. & l. 8. p. 371. & 377.

Isocrat. Helen. encom. Strab. l. 8. p. 321. Pindar. Olymp. 1.

Cotemporary with Perseus was Pelops, son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, or, according to Pindar, of Lydia, in Asia Minor; who, it is said, pressed by unsuccessful war, quitted his country, with the easiness usual in those early ages, at the head of his partizans to seek better fortune elsewhere. Defectively as the circumstances of this prince's story are transmitted, and mingled with romantic fable, yet some of the most important remain strongly authenticated. It appears that the western provinces of Asia Minor preceded Greece in arts and civilization. This, for which we have many grounds of surmize, receives confirmation from the judicious and candid Thucydides, who relates that, while the Greeks were yet barbarous and their country poor, Pelops, bringing with him treasures to an amount before unknown, quickly acquired an interest superior to that of any native. We are farther informed by Polybius, whose testimony, in itself weighty, is confirmed by Strabo and Pausanias, that Pelops was attended into Peloponnesus by a body of Achaians from Thessaly, whom he established in Laconia. But we learn from Homer, that the Achaian name spred far in the peninsula; for he calls the Argians, with all the people of the north-eastern coast, Achaians; and he distinguishes the whole of Peloponnesus from the rest of Greece by the name of Achaian Argos. A large concurrence of tradition affirms that the Phrygian prince married Hippodameia, daughter of Œnomaüs, chief of Pisa in Eleia, whom he succeeded in the sovereinty of that territory; and

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 9.

Polyb. l. 2. p. 178. Strab. l. 8. p. 383. Pausan. l. 2. c. 18. & l. 5. c. 13.

Iliad, l. 2. v. 559.

Strabo. l. 8. p. 369. Diod. l. 4. c. 75, 76.

B. C. 993. N.

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that in the course of a long reign he established his influence, not so much by wars, as by the marriages of his numerous issue, and by his wise conduct, assisted, however, probably, by some terror of his power, throughout the peninsula; insomuch that it derived from him the name which it retained so many ages, and which is not yet wholly obsolete[17].

Astydameia, daughter of Pelops, was married to Sthenelus, king of Argos, son of Perseus. Their son and successor Eurystheus is known for his enmity to Heracles, or, as we usually write with the Latins, Hercules, descended also from both Perseus and Pelops. This hero, the Grecian or the Theban Hercules, as he is often called to distinguish him from some great men of other countries known among the Greeks by the same name, was born at Thebes in Bœotia, of Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon king of that city; but, according to poetical report, his father was the god Jupiter. In vain would history investigate the particulars of the life of this celebrated personage; whose great actions, consigned to fame by an ingenious people in a romantic age, have been so disguised with fictitious ornament, as even to have brought his existence into question. But beside a large concurrence of other testimony, Homer leaves no room to doubt, either that there was such a Grecian prince, or who and what he was. He represents him, not that vagabond unattended

Diod. l. 4. c. 9. Pausan. l. 5. c. 13.

Homer. Iliad, l. 14. v. 324. & l. 19. v. 98. Odyss. l. 11. v. 265. Hesiod. Scut. Herc. & Theogon. v. 943. Pind. Nem. 10. Herodot. l. 2. c. 43. Hom. Il. l. 5. 638. & l. 11. 689.

[17] The Genoese and Venetians, in their conquest in the Levant, totally changed the names of many principal places of Greece and the Grecian seas; and the French in all their writings, and, what is worse, in some of the best maps extant, have so mutilated and barbarized classical names, particularly the Greek, that a dictionary is often wanting to explain what the deformed appellations mean. The modern Greeks retain the antient names almost universally, and generally with little deviation, often none, from the classical orthography.

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savage, which later poets have made him, whose only covering was a lion's skin, whose only weapon a club (an attire which he rather owes perhaps originally to the statuaries) and whose single strength was equal either to the discomfiture of hosts, or to the labor of a thousand hardy hinds; but, on the contrary, a prince commanding armies, which were the ministers of his great actions. Yet while his own fame, and still more that of his posterity, who became singularly illustrious in Grecian story, forbid to pass him unmentioned, scarcely more can be done than to assign him his rank, as greatest among the heroes of that peculiarly called the heroic age; who, prompted by a spirit similar to what many ages after animated the northern and western nations, devoted themselves to toil and danger in the service of mankind and the acquisition of honest fame; opposing oppressors, and relieving the oppressed, wherever they were to be found, and bearing thus the sword of universal justice, while governments were yet too weak to wield it[18].

The hatred of Eurystheus, which pursued Hercules through life, was continued, after his death, to his children and friends. Compelled to quit Peloponnesus, they found a generous reception at Athens.

[18] Respice vindicibus pacatum viribus orbem,
Quà latam Nereus cærulus ambit humum.
Se tibi pax terræ, tibi se tuta æquora debent:
Implesti meritis Solis utramque domum.
Ovid. Epist. Deian. Herc.

An ingenious attempt to elicit history from the poetical traditions concerning the Grecian Hercules, may be seen in Dr. Samuel Musgrave's Dissertation on Grecian Mythology. Remaining testimonies concerning the eastern heroes, whom the Greeks called by the same name, are collected in Mr. Bryant's System of Antient Mythology. It is truly observed by Dr. Musgrave, that the name Heracles bears all appearance of being originally Grecian, formed by the same analogy as Diocles, Athenocles, and other Greek names. It is however well known,

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The Argian monarch invaded Attica, but, in a battle with the Athenians, was defeated and slain. This event made way for new honors and power to the family of Pelops. Atreus, son of that prince, and uncle of Eurystheus, had been intrusted by his nephew with the regency of his Peloponnesian dominions during the Attic expedition. On the death of Eurystheus, Atreus assumed the sovereinty; the greatness of his connections, and the popularity of his character (such is the opinion which Thucydides professes) precluding competition. The claims of the Perseid and Pelopid families, thus by right or violence, united in the house of Pelops, extended over all or nearly all Peloponnesus. Eleia had been inherited from Œnomaüs. Laconia, including, according to Strabo, great part of Messenia, was occupied by the colonies from Phrygia and Thessaly which had followed the fortune of Pelops. Achaia, then called Ægialos, or Ægialeia, with Corinth, was of the particular domain of Mycenæ. Still several cities of Peloponnesus had each its chief, presiding over its municipal government; and the degree of dependance of these upon the paramount soverein, was little exactly defined by either compact or custom: but the superiority of the head of the house of Pelops in rank, and his claim to military command, appear to have been undisputed. Under these advantageous circumstances the Argian scepter devolved to Agamemnon, son or grandson of Atreus; for the

Herodot. l. 9. c. 27. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 9. Isoc. Paneg. p. 198. t. 1. ed. Auger. Strabo, l. 8. p. 377. Diod. Sic. l. 4.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 9. Strab. l. 8. p. 359. Iliad, l. 2. v. 575. Strabo, l. 8. p. 383. Pausan. l. 5. c. 1. & l. 7. c. 1. Iliad, l. 2. v. 570. Pausan. l. 2. c. 4.

Homer. Iliad, l. 1. v. 185, & 278. l. 9. v. 32, & seq. v. 96. & seq. & v. 160. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 9. Isocr. Panath. p. 472.

that the Greeks continually altered forein names, to accommodate them to their own pronuntiation and to the inflections of their language: sometimes they translated them; and sometimes, by a less violent change, by the transposition or alteration of a letter or two, reduced them to bear intirely a Grecian appearance, with a meaning however totally different from the original. Mr. Bryant has collected instances of all these circumstances.

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B. C. 919. N. 1198. B.

succession is variously related[19]. Tradition is, however, uniform concerning a circumstance of more historical importance; an accession of fortune, which brought all the southern part of Peloponnesus under the dominion of Agamemnon.

The city of LACEDÆMON, otherwise called SPARTA, was founded at a period beyond certain memorials. It appears from Homer to have been among the most considerable of the remote ages, but is little known for any remarkable personages or events till the reign of Tyndareus, whose wife, the poetical Leda, was mother of the celebrated brothers Castor and Polydeuces, or, as the Romans abbreviated the name, Pollux, and the still more celebrated sisters Clytemnestra and Helen. The brothers, afterward for their heroic deeds deified and numbered among the signs of the zodiac, died in early manhood. The

[19] Homer says that the scepter, presented from Jupiter by Mercury to Pelops, was given by him to Atreus, who at his death left it to Thyestes, who bequeathed it, with the sovereinty of all Argos and many ilands, to Agamemnon (1). He mentions nothing of the murder of Chrysippus, eldest son of Pelops, by Atreus, nor of any of those horrors of domestic discord between the surviving brothers, which in after-ages filled the scenes of the tragic poets, and found place even in the narration of grave historians. The flight of Atreus from his father's residence, on account of the death of Chrysippus, is indeed mentioned by Thucydides (2), but nothing further. The scholiast on Homer (3) reports, that Atreus, dying, bequeathed his kingdom to his brother Thyestes, on condition that he should resign it to Agamemnon, son of Atreus, on his attaining manhood, and that Thyestes faithfully executed the trust. Æschylus, Strabo, and Pausanias agree with the scholiast (4) in calling Agamemnon and Menelaüs sons of Atreus. Others (5) have supposed them his grandsons by his son Pleisthenes, who died young. The general notoriety only, it should seem, of the parentage of Agamemnon in Homer's age could occasion his neglect to particularize it, when he has so carefully recorded the pedigrees of many inferior personages.

(1) Iliad, l. 2. v. 103. (2) Thucyd. l. 1. c. 9. (3) Iliad, l. 2. v. 107.
(4) Æschyl. Agamem. Strab. l. 8. p. 372. Pausan. l. 3. c. 1.
(5) Clem. Alex. in Strom.

sisters were married, Clytemnestra to Agamemnon, and Helen to his brother Menelaüs. Thus, by inheritance through these princesses, a large and valuable domain accrued to the house of Pelops. The command of Lacedæmon was given to Menelaüs. But the time to which we now approach being distinguished by that very celebrated event the Trojan war, one of the great epochs of Grecian history, it will be necessary, before we proceed farther in the account of Pelopennesus, to take such a view, as remaining memorials will enable us to take, of the rest of Greece.

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SECTION III.

Of the northern provinces of Greece from the earliest Accounts to the Trojan War. Thessaly: Tempë: Deucalion's Flood: Centaurs: Jason: Argonautic Expedition. Bœotia: Flood of Ogyges: Thebes. Ætolia. Attica: Cecrops: Athens: Ægeus: Theseus: Ariadne. Improvement of the Athenian Government by Theseus. The Athenians the first civilized People of Greece.

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Of the provinces without the peninsula, the two whose fruitfulness most attracted the attention of emigrants, were THESSALY and BŒOTIA; and these were under very peculiar natural circumstances. Through the middle of the former runs the river Peneius, which, receiving, in its course along the plain, many smaller streams and the overflowings of two considerable lakes, forces its way into the sea, through the narrow valley of Tempë, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. A country thus abounding with waters, and inclosed by mountains, could not but be subject to inundations. Herodotus, whom, on this as on many other occasions, Strabo has not disdained to follow, relates a tradition that Thessaly was originally one vast lake, without

Herodot. l. 7. c. 129. Strab. l. 8. p. 430.

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visible outlet; till an earthquake, rending Olympus from Ossa, formed the valley of Tempë. Still, however the frequency of smaller floods appears to have coöperated with that fruitfulness of soil, which invited rapine, in making Thessaly yet more subject to revolutions in its population than any other Grecian province; and hence perhaps Hòmer was the better inabled to attribute to his hero, Achilles, the principal chieftain of those parts at the time of the Trojan war, the honor of having a goddess for his mother, and for his father a mortal indeed, but only second in descent from Jupiter.

Plat. de Rep. l. 3. p. 391. Schol. ad v. 14. l. 16. Iliad.

THESSALY was, however, unless we should except Crete, the oldest object of poetical story and popular tradition of any part of Greece; and, had we means of investigation, were perhaps the worthiest of historical curiosity. We read of kings there, who extended their dominion southward as far as the Corinthian isthmus, and who left monuments of their wisdom that survived almost all memory of their power. These will require our future notice. Thessaly was always famous for its horses, and for the turn of its people to horsemanship; which the story of the Centaurs apparently indicates to have been earlier known there than elsewhere in Greece. Whether those poetical people were native Thessalians, or forein invaders who settled in Thessaly, the traditionary character of the Centaur Chiron seems to imply that they were a people superior in acquirements to the southern Greeks of their age[20].

Plat. Men. t. 2. p. 70. & Hip. Maj. t. 3. p. 284. Xenoph. de venat. c. 1.

[20] The most inquisitive and judicious of the antient antiquarians appear to have been at a loss what to think of the Centaurs. Strabo calls them ἀγριόν τι φῦλον(1), a mode of expression implying his uncertainty about them, while he gives them an epithet for which no reason appears. Hesiod (2) and Homer never speak of them as a savage race, and seem to have known

(1) Strab. l. 9. p. 439. (2) So Herc. v. 184.

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In Thessaly also, at the port of Iolcus, we are told, was made the first successful attempt to build a ship of size superior to what had before been known; and thence sailed the celebrated expedition of the Argonauts. Tho we do not believe all the romantic, and still less the impossible tales, which poets, and even some grave historians, have told of those famous adventurers; tho we are aware of the mixture of eastern tradition with early Grecian history, of the unavoidable confusion of chronology through a long course of oral delivery, and of the blending of events of distant countries and different ages, yet

nothing of their equine form; which, if not an Egyptian invention, has been found out by the ingenuity of later ages. The scholiast on Homer indeed says that, where Nestor, in the first book of the Iliad (3), speaks of mountain beasts destroyed by Theseus, he means the Centaurs; but this interpretation seems violently far fetched, and as unwarranted as unnecessary, while the meaning of the words in their common acceptation is obvious, and perfectly consonant to every account of the state of things in that age. Nor does the scholiast seem better founded in supposing that the Centaurs are intended, in the second book of the Iliad (4), under the description of hairy wild beasts of mount Pelion. In the Odyssee (5) we find the Centaur Eurytion, whose very name imports a respectable character, mentioned with the honourable epithet ἀγαακλυτὸς, not likely to be given to one of a tribe fit to be described by the gross appellations of mountain beasts and hairy savages. He behaved ill; but it was in great company; and it is expressly mentioned as an extraordinary circumstance, the consequence of accidental drunkenness. The story indeed seems to be intended by the poet as an instance that persons of highest rank and most respectable character, if they yield to intemperance, reduce themselves, for the time, to a level with the lowest and most profligate, and are liable to suffer accordingly. Pindar in his 3d, 4th, and 9th Pythian Odes, and 3d Nemean, describes the Centaur Chiron as a most paradoxical being, which yet, in the fourth Pythian, he has defined in two words, φηρ θεῖος, a godlike wild beast. But even in Xenophon's time, it should seem, the term Centaur did not of itself discriminate the imaginary animal half man and half horse; for that author, wanting to particularize such animals, never calls them simply Centaurs, but always Hippocentaurs, Horse-centaurs. See Cyropæd. b. 4.

(3) v. 268. (4) v. 743. (5) l. 21. v. 295.

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it seems unreasonable to discredit intirely the Argonautic expedition; which on the authority of antient writers, and with perfect consonance to probability and the character of the times, may be fairly related thus. Jason, a young man of high birth, high spirit, and superior bodily accomplishments, circumstances which excited a jealousy that made his situation uneasy at home, was ambitious of conducting a pirating expedition, then an honorable undertaking, to a greater distance than any had ventured before him. With the assistance of the wealth and power of his uncle, who was prince of the district, and of the skill of a Phenician mechanic, he built a vessel larger than had hitherto been common among the Greeks. His own rank and character, together with the fame of his ship, induced young men of distinction from other parts of Greece to join in the adventure. They directed their course to Colchis, on the eastern coast of the Euxine sea; a country in some degree civilized; according to Herodotus, by an Egyptian colony, and abounding in mines of gold, silver and iron. They encountered many difficulties, and suffered some loss; and their success upon the whole appears doubtful; but, in one great object of the ambition of the age, their chief at least was gratified: the princess Medeia, daughter of the king of the country, went off with him and passed into Greece. It was a practice of the Colchians, as we are told by Strabo and Arrian, to collect gold on mount Caucasus, by extending fleeces across the beds of the torrents: as the water passed, the metallic particles remained intangled in the wool. Hence, according to those informed and judicious writers, the adventure was named the expedition of the golden fleece.

Pindar. Pyth. 4. Diod. l. 4. c. 41. Justin. l. 42. c. 2.

B. C. 937. N. 1263. B.

Herodot. l. 2. c. 104. Strab. l. 1. p. 45.

Strab. l. 11. p. 499. Arrian de Bell Mithridat.

Bœotia was under natural circumstances yet more extraordinary than Thessaly. It is a vale, full of

Strab. l. 9. p. 406.

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subterranean caverns, and peculiarly subject to earthquakes. The surrounding mountains pour in their streams on all sides, forming rivers and lakes, without any such advantageous and permanent outlet as the valley of Tempë gives to the waters of Thessaly. By the concussions of the earth, watercourses were stopped, and the stream found a new channel, sometimes under-ground: even lakes were laid dry and new lakes formed, and, with the cultivated country, towns were overwhelmed by the waters. The flood of Ogyges was probably an inundation in this country, unusually destructive, which drove all the inhabitants, that escaped with life, to seek safety in the adjoining hilly province of Attica. The flood of Deucalion was a calamity of the same kind in Thessaly, or, according to Aristotle, rather in the western provinces about Dodona and the river Acheloüs. Indeed the same season might produce similar consequences in both; and the ignorance of aftertimes, confounding the traditions of these inundations with the imperfect reports remaining concerning the general deluge, produced that field for fable and poetical invention, of which Grecian ingenuity has made such ample use.

Aristot. Meteorol. l. 1. c. 14.

These natural calamities, to which Bœotia was so liable, were not sufficient to induce the inhabitants finally to desert a country of such fertility, or to deter adventurers from endeavouring to establish themselves there. Cadmus, leading a colony, immediately from Phœnicia, but originally, according to the supposition of many, from Egypt, is said to have founded the celebrated city of Thebes. It appears indeed that, in process of ages, Bœotia, as well as Thessaly, became less subject to those desolating inundations. A principal relief was derived, according to Strabo, from the accidental forming of

B. C. 1045. N. 1493. B. Strab. l. 9. p. 401. Isocrat. Helen. encom.

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a subterranean opening, by which the river Cephisus, and the overflowings of the lake Copaïs, formerly destitute of any known vent, were discharged into the sea. No part of Greece was more fruitful in matter for fable and poetry than Thebes. The stories of Cadmus himself, of Semelë, Bacchus, Antiopë, Zethus, Amphion, Amphitryon, Alcmena, Hercules, Laius, Jocasta, Œdipus, Eteocles, Polynices, may be red with pleasure and advantage in the works of the Greek and Latin poets, but scarcely elsewhere. From those stories, however, we may collect that Thebes was, in that remote age, one of the most florishing and powerful cities of Greece[21]. The war which it sustained against the seven chiefs, authenticated to us by Hesiod and Homer, and made illustrious by the tragedy of Æschylus, and the epic poem of Statius, is the first instance of a league among Grecian princes, and of anything approaching to regular war.

B. C. 928. N. 1225. B.

Hes. Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 160.

Il. l. 4. v. 377. l. 6. v. 223. & l. 14. v. 114.

Odyss. l. 15. v. 247.

The ÆTOLIANS were, in these early times, not inferior to their neighbors, in civilization, or in consequence among the Grecian people. Poetry has immortalized their heroes Tydeus, Meleager, and others. Homer adverts in two lines, strongly marked by that power, which he singularly possessed, of expressing the deepest pathetic in the simplest terms, to the catastrophë of the family of Œneus, king of the country, as to a story well known among his cotemporaries. Thoas, commander of the Ætolian troops at the siege of Troy, is represented, not only as a leader of general merit, but for his eloquence remarkable. Their towns, Calydon and Pleuron, were among the principal of Greece.

Iliad, l. 2. v. 641.

Iliad, l. 15. v. 284.

Strabo, l. 8. p. 450.

[21] - - - - - Τὰ μέγιστ' ἐτιμάσθης
Ταῖς μεγάλαισιν ἐν Θήβαις ἀνάσσων.
Sophoc. Oedip. Tyr. v. 1126.

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Hereafter we shall find great inferiority in the comparative progress of the Ætolians. The adjoining people of Acarnania, alone of all the Greeks, had not the honor of partaking in the Trojan war; and, for some centuries after that event, these western provinces had little communication with the rest of Greece. Phocis, Doris, and Locris, are also without objects of history; but Attica, were it only for its subsequent fame, will demand some notice of its early traditions.

Ogyges has had the reputation of being the first king of Attica; and chronologers have undertaken even to fix the time of his reign. It is set by some above two hundred, and by the most moderate a hundred and fifty years before the next event, and even before the next name of a man recorded in Attic history. But we have no assurance that even the name of Ogyges was known to the older Grecian authors[22]. If anything can be gathered from the traditions concerning such a personage, reported by later writers of best authority, it is that, at some period too far beyond connected history for any calculation of its date, a flood, desolating the rich fields of Bœotia over which he reigned, drove many of the inhabitants to establish themselves in the adjoining country of Attica; hilly, rocky, and little fruitful; yet preferable to the mountainous tracts every other way surrounding their former settlements. Both Strabo and Pausanias mention a tradition, that anciently there had been towns in Bœotia called Athens and Eleusis, which had been overwhelmed by a deluge. But in the very early ages we find the same

Blair's Tables; and Chronol. Table in Hist. of Greece by Cousin Despreaux.

Strabo, l. 9. p. 407. Pausan. l. 9. c. 24.

[22] Ogyges, I believe is not mentioned by Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, or even Strabo; to all of whom, apparently, he must have occurred as an object of mention, had his story been at all known in their times, or at least, had it had any credit.

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names given to various places, often widely distant; a circumstance probably owing to the frequency and extent of migration, while the variety of language over the world was little. Thus, beside the Bœotian Thebes and the vast capital of Upper Egypt, there were towns of the same name in Pamphylia, in Mysia, and in Thessaly: the name of Larissa was yet more common through Greece and Asia Minor; and, beside the Argos in Peloponnesus, there was an Argos in Thessaly, another in Acarnania, and a fourth in Italy. Strabo says that Bœotia was anciently called Ogygia[28]. From the time of Euripides at least to that of Pausanias, one of the gates of Thebes in Bœotia was called the Ogygian gate, and Sophocles calls the city Ogygian Thebes; but the early Æschylus gives the epithet Ogygian to Thebes on the Nile; whence it seems most likely that Egypt was its original country.

Strabo, l. 9. p. 440.

Eurip. Phœn. v. 1130. Pausan. l. 9. c. 8. Soph. Oed. Col. v. 1853. Æschyl. Pers. v. 39.

With Ogyges, however, even rumor of events in Attica ceases, till Cecrops became prince of the province; leading thither, according to the most received and probable accounts, a colony from Egypt. According to every account, he found the natives a wild and ignorant people; a circumstance far from adverse to his purpose of forming a settlement. The country also, tho not offering the most alluring prospect to the vulgar covetousness of the age, was yet, to the more informed and penetrating eye, far from uninviting. On the verge of a plain, watered by

B. C. 1080. N. 1556. B.

[28] He adds, that it was then under the government of Cecrops. It is certainly a probable conjecture of the learned Mr. Bryant, that the oriental manner of expression, by which a name in the singular signified a people, as Israel often meant the whole people descended from the patriarch Israel, may have led to much confusion in Grecian tradition. The name Cecrops, Cranaus, Cadmus, and others, open wide fields for conjecture, in which, however, it were little proper for the historian to expatiate.

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two small streams, a haven presented itself, commodious for the vessels of the time. Between the streams, near their junction, about three miles from the shore and five from the haven, a rock, rising nearly perpendicular on all sides, had every advantage for a fortified post. Precisely this union of circumstances was what the early Greeks most desired for the situation of a city. Such was that of Argos, with its citadel Larissa and port of Nauplia, Corinth, with the Acrocorinthus and port of Lechæum, and many others; and Edinborough, with its castle-rock and its port of Leith, affords a perfect exemplification of it. Mountains, but not of that formidable height common through Greece, at some distance surrounded the plain; which, tho not of the first fertility, appeared yet not adverse to cultivation. Cecrops occupied the rock, and, how far by force, how far by persuasion, we are not informed, he extended his dominion over the whole tract afterward called Attica. He divided this territory into twelve districts, with a principal town, or rather perhaps village, in each, where he caused justice to be administered according to some salutary laws which he established; and he taught his subjects a more regular and effectual mode of defence against the incursions of the Bœotians, their only neighbors, from which even their poverty did not exempt them; for in all times neighbor and enemy have, in the language of politics, been nearly synonymous. The fortress, which he made his residence, was from his own name called Cecropia, and was peculiarly recommended to the patronage of the Egyptian goddess, whom the Greeks worshipped by the name of Athena, and the Latins of Minerva. Many, induced by the neighborhood of the port, and expecting security both from the fortress and from its tutelary deity,

Strabo, l. 9. p. 397. Plutarch, Thes.

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erected their habitations around the foot of the rock; and thus arose early a considerable town which, from the name of the goddess, was called Athenai, or, as we after the French have corrupted it, ATHENS.

This account of the rise of Athens, and of the origin of its government, tho possibly a village, and even a fortress, may have existed there before Cecrops, is supported by a more general concurrence of traditionary testimony, and more complete consonancy to the rest of history, than is often found for that remote age[24]. The subsequent Attic annals are far less satisfactory. Strabo declines the endeavor to reconcile their inconsistencies; and Plutarch gives a strong picture of the uncertainties and voids which

Strabo, l. 9. p. 392.

[24] In an ingenious dissertation on Grecian mythology, by Dr. S. Musgrave, it has been endeavoured to prove that Cecrops was a native Greek, and that the religion of Athens was not derived from Egypt. Other works, however, of deeper inquiry, abundantly support the contrary position; particularly Blackwell's Life of Homer, Monboddo on Language, Bryant's Antient Mythology (1), Pownall on the Study of Antiquities, and Recherches sur l'Origine & les Progrès des Arts de la Gréce. That the Athenians were a mixed people, we learn not only from many passages of Herodotus, scarcely to be questioned, but also from the direct testimony of Thucydides, which must be esteemed unquestionable. The early communication between Greece and Egypt is also established beyond contradiction; and that this intercourse operated powerfully upon Grecian religion is not reasonably to be doubted. Herodotus expressly mentions not only the belief of gods, but the practice of religious ceremonies imported from Egypt into Greece, and in his time performed in the same manner in both countries (2). We may easily conceive Attic vanity, in later times, hurt by the idea that the founder of Athens was an Egyptian, and that even their tutelary deity, whom the Athenians were fond of esteeming their peculiar protectress, was borrowed. Both facts militated with their title of Autochthones, which, in the decline of their glory, comparing themselves with the numerous Grecian states of later fame, and colonies of known date, the flattery of their orators taught them vainly to assume. But Thucydides, if he had any respect for that title, had certainly no faith in it; and when Herodotus, Plato, Strabo, and

(1) See particularly vol. 1. p. 183. (2) Herod. l. 2. c. 171.

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occurred to him in attempting to form a history from them. 'As geographers,' he says, 'in the outer 'parts of their maps, distinguish those countries 'which lie beyond their knowlege with such re- 'marks as these, All here is dry and desert sand, or 'marsh darkened with perpetual fog, or Scythian 'cold or frozen sea; so of the earliest history we 'may say, All here is monstrous and tragical land, 'occupied only by poets and fabulists.' If this apology was necessary, even from Plutarch, for such an account as could in his time be collected of the life of Theseus, none can now be wanting for omitting all disquisition concerning the four or seven kings, for even their number is not ascertained, who are said to have governed Attica from Cecrops to Ægeus, father of that hero. The name of Amphictyon indeed, whose name we find in the list, excites a reasonable curiosity: but as it is not in his government of Athens that he is particularly an object of history, farther mention of him may occur more advantageously hereafter.

Various, uncertain and imperfect then as the accounts were which passed to posterity concerning the early Attic princes, we are yet assured by Thucydides, that Attica was the province of Greece in which population first became settled, and where the earliest progress was made toward civilization. Being nearly peninsular, it lay out of the road of emigrants and wandering freebooters by land; and its rocky soil, supporting few cattle, afforded small

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 2.

Diodorus, who all travelled into Egypt purposely to inform themselves upon such subjects, agree in representing the Athenian Minerva as the same goddess peculiarly worshipped at Saïs in Egypt, it does not appear what can authorize a modern to controvert it. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὥσπερ περὶ τἄλλα φιλοξενοῦντες διατελοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τοὺς θεούς· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παραδέξαντο. Strab. l. 10. p. 471.

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temptation to either. The produce of tillage was of less easy removal, and the gains of commerce were secured within fortifications. Attica therefore grew populous, not only through the safety which the natives thus injoyed, but by a confluence of strangers from other parts of Greece: for when either foreign invasion or intestine broil occasioned anywhere the necessity of emigration, the principal people commonly resorted to Athens, as the only place of permanent security, and where strangers of character, able by their wealth or their ingenuity to support themselves and benefit the community, were easily admitted to the privilege of citizens.

Thucyd. ib. Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15. Iliad, l. 2. v. 158. Isocr. Panath. p. 510. & 561. Diod. l. 1. c. 29.

But, as population increased, the simple forms of government and jurisprudence established by Cecrops were no longer equal to their purpose. Civil wars arose: the country was invaded by sea: Erechtheus, called by later authors Erichthonius, and by the poets styled Son of the Earth, acquired the sovereinty, bringing, according to some not improbable reports, a second colony from Egypt[25]. Eumolpus, with a body of Thracians, about the same time established himself in Eleusis. When, a generation or two later, Ægeus, cotemporary with Minos, succeeded his father Pandion in the throne, the country seems to have been well peopled, but the government ill constituted and weak. Concerning this

B. C. 1035. N. 1487. B. Lycurg. con. Leocr. p. 201. t. 4. Or. Gr. Reiske. Strabo, l. 7. p. 321. Pausan. l. 1. c. 38. B. C. 994. N. 1283. B.

[25] It is clear, as Sir Isaac Newton has observed, that Homer describes (1) under the name of Erechtheus, the same prince whom the chronologers, and even Pausanias, would distinguish from Erechtheus by the name of Erichthonius. The name of Erichthonius, as an Athenian, is mentioned by Plato (2); but with no more authority for inserting it in the list of Athenian kings, than the name of Erisichthon, which occurs in the same passage. On the contrary, as Newton has farther justly observed (3), Plato himself has called that prince Erechtheus,

(1) Iliad, l. 2. v. 547. (2) Critias. p. 110. t. 3. ed. Serran.
(3) Chronol. p. 144.

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prince, however, and his immediate successor, tradition is more ample; and, tho abundantly mixed with fable, yet in many instances apparently more authentic than concerning any other persons of their remote age. Plutarch has thought a history of Theseus, son of Ægeus, not unfit to hold a place among his parallel lives of the great men of Greece and Rome; and we find his account warranted, in many points, by strong corresponding testimony from other antient authors of various ages. The period also is so important in the annals of Attica, and the accounts remaining altogether go so far to illustrate the manners and circumstances of the times, that it may be proper to allow them some scope in narration.

Ægeus, king of Athens, tho an able and spirited prince, yet, in the divided and disorderly state of his country, with difficulty maintained his situation. When past the prime of life he had the misfortune to remain childless, tho twice married; and a faction headed by his apparent heirs, the numerous sons of Pallas his younger brother, gave him unceasing disturbance. Thus urged, he went to Delphi to implore information from the oracle how the blessing of children might be obtained. Receiving an answer which, like most of the oracular responses, was unintelligible[26], his next concern was to find some

Plut. Thes.

whom later writers call Erichthonius. Isocrates says that Erichthonius, son of Vulcan and the Earth, succeeded Cecrops, who died without male issue (4). Nor is there any appearance of the second Cecrops and the second Pandion being known to the earlier Grecian writers, or even to Trogus Pompeius, if we may trust his epitomizer (5). Pausanias indeed thought he had discovered authority for them; yet the very manner in which he relates the succession of Athenian kings shows that what he reports was before little known, and remained for him, in a very late age, to investigate.

[26] Ὥσπερ ὁ Λοξίας, οὐδὲν ἀποσαφεῖς. Lucian. vit. auct.

(4) Isocr. Panathen. p. 510. (5) Justin. l. 2. c. 6.

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person capable of explaining to him the will of the deity thus mysteriously declared. Among the many establishments which Pelops had procured for his family throughout Peloponnesus, was the small town and territory of Trœzen, on the coast opposite to Athens, which he put under the government of his son Pittheus. To this prince Ægeus applied. He was not only in his own age eminent for wisdom, but his reputation remained even in the most florishing period of Grecian philosophy; yet so little was he superior to the ridiculous, and often detestable superstition of his time, that, in consequence of some fancied meaning in the oracle, which even the superstitious Plutarch confesses himself unable to comprehend, he introduced his own daughter Æthra to an illicit commerce with Ægeus.

Justin. l. 2. c. 6.

Before Cecrops, if we may believe traditions received in the polished ages, the people of Attica were in knowlege and civilization below the wildest savages discovered in modern times. The most necessary arts, and the most indispensable regulations of society, were unknown to them. Marriage was introduced by Cecrops: the culture of corn is said to have been of later date. But the colonies from Egypt, Phenicia, and Thrace, quickly made the Atticans a new people. At a period far beyond connected history, we find all the principal oriental tenets and maxims of society firmly established among them. Marriage was held highly sacred[27]; virginity in mysterious respect; infidelity in a wife deeply disgraceful; but concubinage for the husband as lawful as it was common; bastardy little or

[27] Εὐνὴ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναῖκὶ μορσίμη,
Ὅρκου τε μείζων τῆ δίκῃ φρουρουμένη:—A declaration which Æschylus puts into the mouth of Apollo himself. Æschyl. Eumen. p. 279. ed. H. Steph.

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no stain upon children; and polygamy, apparently, and divorces were equally unknown. Ægeus had a wife living at the time of his visit to Pittheus; and marriage seems on that occasion, to have been intended by no party. Æthra, however, proved shortly pregnant; while the affairs of Attica, in the utmost confusion, required the immediate return of Ægeus. His departure from Trœzen is marked by an action which, to persons accustomed to consider modern manners only, may appear unfit to be related but in a fable, yet is so consonant to the manners of the times, and so characteristical of them, as to demand the notice of the historian. He led Æthra to a sequestered spot, where was a small cavity in a rock. Depositing there a hunting-knife[28] and a pair of sandals, he covered them with a marble fragment of enormous weight; and then addressing Æthra, 'If,' said he, 'the child you now bear should prove a 'boy, let the removal of this stone be one day the 'proof of his strength; when he can effect it, send 'him with the tokens underneath to Athens.'

Plutarch. Thes. Pausan. l. 1. c. 27.

Pittheus, well knowing the genius and the degree of information of his subjects and fellowcountrymen, thought it not too gross an imposition to report that his daughter was pregnant by the god Poseidon, or, as we usually call him, with the Latins, Neptune, the tutelary deity of the Trœzenians. A similar expe-

[28] The Greeks of the heroic age usually carried two weapons of the sword kind, one called ξίφος, the other μάχαιρα, very different one from the other, but commonly both rendered in English by the word SWORD. The Xiphos was a large broadsword; the Machaira was but a large knife, and used for the purpose of a knife equally and a weapon. Plutarch, who is not always solicitous about accuracy, in describing the depositing of the weapon by Ægeus, calls it the Xiphos: the story which he afterwards relates induces the necessity that it should become the Machaira. For authority for the distinction, Homer's Iliad may be seen, b. 3. v. 271. b. 11. v. 843. and b. 19. v. 252.

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dient seems indeed to have been often successfully used to cover the disgrace which, even in those days, would otherwise attend such irregular amours in a lady of high rank, tho women of lower degree appear to have derived no dishonor from concubinage with their superiors. Theseus was the produce of the singular connection of Æthra with Ægeus. He was carefully educated under the inspection of his grandfather, and gave early proofs of uncommon vigor both of body and mind. When he had attained manhood, his mother, in pursuance of the injunction of Ægeus, unfolding to him the reality of his parentage, conducted him to the rock where his father's tokens were deposited. He removed the stone which covered them, with a facility sufficiently indicating that superior bodily strength, so necessary, in those days, to support the pretensions of high birth; and, thus incouraged, she recommended to him to carry them to Ægeus at Athens. This proposal perfectly suited the temper and inclination of Theseus; but when he was farther advised to go by sea, on account of the shortness and safety of the passage, piracy being about this time suppressed by the naval power of Minos king of Crete, he positively refused.

The journey by land was more than four times longer, and highly dangerous. That age, says Plutarch, produced men of extraordinary dexterity, of extreme swiftness, of unwearied strength; who used those natural advantages for no good purpose, but placed their injoyment in the commission of insult, outrage and cruelty; esteeming the commendations bestowed upon modesty, righteousness, justice, and benevolence, as proceeding from fear to injure, or dread of receiving injury, and little becoming the powerful and the bold. Strange as these principles may appear, we find them reported by Plato as not

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obsolete in his time, but on the contrary held by many, and even maintained in disputation. The picture indeed seems that of all countries, where, with a competency of inhabitants, a regular and vigorous government is wanting. Five centuries ago, it would have suited England, France, and all western Europe. It agrees so perfectly with all the accounts remaining of early Greece, and particularly those of Homer, whose testimony is unquestionable, and of Thucydides, the most authoritative of any following writer, that we may hence conclude the poetical stories of the golden age, and the reign of Saturn, were not originally Grecian, but derived from the East[29]. It remained for the idle learned, of refined and luxurious times, to imagine that the savage state is most favorable to general virtue among men. The idea began to get vigor in the Augustan age: Horace and Virgil found it advantageous for poetry: it was buried under the ruins of the Roman empire, and seems not to have florished again till some time after the revival of learning in Europe; where, in our western parts, the turbulence of barbarism produced consequences remarkably similar to what had been antiently experienced in Greece[30]. It is amid anarchy and desolation that great virtues, as well as great vices, have the strongest incentives to exertion, and the most frequent op-

Plat. de Rep. l. 2. p. 364. & seq. t. 2.

[29] Hesiod's brazen age (1) so exactly corresponds with Plutarch's account of the age of Theseus, that it seems evidently a description of the same times in the same country. But if the mythological passages with which it is connected should appear to any to lessen its authority, Homer will abundantly make good the deficiency: a passage in the 18th book of the Odyssee, v. 139, is particularly to the purpose.

[30] The Gothic yet learned and elegant Muse of Spenser, preferring the real to the imaginary picture, has thus described the antient state of our iland.

(1) Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 142.

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portunities of becoming conspicuous. While governments were unable to repress outrages, individuals generously undertook the glorious task. Afterward societies were formed for the purpose. Thus arose the Italian republics, the free cities of Germany, and the corporations throughout Europe; and by the same necessity the several towns of Greece were driven to form themselves into independent states. Through the greatest part of modern Europe, the feudal subordination had efficacy enough to keep the otherwise disjointed members of the several great kingdoms united under one head; till the progress of civilization and science inabled legislation to form of the whole one harmonized and

Robertson's Introd. to the Hist. of Charles the Fifth.

The land which warlike Britons now possess,
And therein have their mighty empire raised,
In antique times was salvage wilderness.

Ne did it then deserve a name to have;
Till that the venturous mariner that way,
Learning his ship from those white rocks to save,
Which all along the southern seacoast lay,
Threatening unheedy wreck and rash decay,
For safety sake that same his seamark made,
And named it Albion. But later day,
Finding in it fit ports for fisher's trade,
Gan more the same frequent, and farther to invade.

But far inland a salvage nation dwelt,
Of hideous giants and half beastly men,
That never tasted grace, nor goodness felt;
But, like wild beasts, lurking in loathsome den,
And flying fast as roebuck through the fen,
All naked, without shame or care of cold,
By hunting and by spoiling lived then;
Of stature huge, and eke of courage bold,
That sons of men amazed their sternness to behold.

They held this land———
Until that Brutus, antiently derived
From royal stock of old Assarac's line,
Driven by fatal error, here arrived,
And them of their unjust possession deprived.

Faery Queen, b. 2. cant. 10. st. 5 to 9.

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vigorous body. In Greece, such a bond of union failing, every town sought absolute independency as essential to freedom and equal government. In modern Italy also, which, in some material circumstances of the feudal connection, differed from the rest of Europe, independency was ardently desired by the commonwealths, and they attained it. The age of Theseus was the great era of those heroes, to whom the knights errant of the Gothic kingdoms afterward bore a close resemblance. Hercules was his near relation. The actions of that extraordinary personage had been for some years the subject of universal conversation, and were both an incentive and a direction to young Theseus in the road to fame. After having destroyed the most powerful and atrocious freebooters throughout Greece, Hercules was, according to Plutarch, gone into Asia; and those disturbers of civil order, whom his irresistible might and severe justice had driven to conceal themselves, took advantage of his absence to renew their violences. Being not obscure and vagabond thieves, but powerful chieftains, who openly defied law and government, the dangers to be expected from them were well known at Trœzen. Theseus, however, persevered in his resolution to go by land: alleging that it would be shameful, if, while Hercules was traversing earth and sea to repress the common disturbers of mankind, he should avoid those at his door; disgracing his reputed father by an ignominious flight over his own element, and carrying to his real father, for tokens, a bloodless weapon, and sandals untrodden, instead of giving proofs of his high birth by actions worthy of it.

Plut. vit. Thes.

Plut. vit. Thes. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 5.

Thus determined, he began his journey, with what attendants we are not informed. He had not,

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however, proceeded far, before he had occasion to exercise his valor. Periphetes was a chief of the Epidaurian mountains, famous for his robberies. Attacking Theseus, he fell by his hand. The Corinthian isthmus was a spot particularly favorable to the purpose of freebooters. Simmis, who had his station there, also attacked Theseus, and was slain. The neighborhood of Crommyon, on the isthmus, was infested by a wild sow of enormous size and uncommon fierceness; or, as some have reported, by a female leader of robbers, whose gross manners procured her the appellation of sow. The name Phæa, attributed to her by both, seems to favor the latter opinion. Whatever the pest was, Theseus has the credit of having delivered the country from it. Proceeding in his journey along the mountainous coast of the Saronic gulph, he still found every fastness occupied by men, who, like many of the old barons of the western European kingdoms, gave protection to their dependents, and disturbance to all beside within their reach, making booty of whatever they could master. His valor, however, and his good fortune, procured him the advantage in every contest, and carried him safe through all dangers, tho he found nothing friendly till he arrived on the bank of the river Cephisus, in the middle of Attica. There he met some people of the country, who saluted him in the usual terms of friendship to strangers. Judging himself then past the perils of his journey, he requested to have the accustomed ceremony of purification from blood performed upon him, that he might with propriety join in sacrifices and other religious rites. The courteous Atticans readily complied, and afterward entertained him at their houses. An antient altar commemorating this meeting, and dedicated to Jú-

Strabo, l. 9. p. 391. Diod. l. 4. c. 61. Plutarch. Thes. Pausan. l. 1. c. 44. l. 2. c. 1.

Pausan. l. 1. c. 37. Plutarch. Thes.

piter, with the epithet of Meilichius, the friendly or kind, remained to the time of Pausanias[31]. SECT. III.

When Theseus arrived at Athens, Ægeus, already approaching dotage, was governed by the Colchian princess Medeia, so famous in poetry, who, in her flight from Corinth, had prevailed on him to afford her protection. At the instigation of that abandoned woman, Theseus, as an illustrious but dangerous stranger, was invited to a feast, where it was proposed to poison him; but on drawing his hunting-knife, as it seems was usual, to carve the meat before him, he was recognized by Ægeus. The old king, embracing his son, acknowleged him before the company, and summoning an assembly of the people, presented Theseus as their prince. The heroïc youth, the fame of whose exploits, so suited to acquire popularity in that age, had already prepossessed the people in his favor, was received with warm tokens of general satisfaction. But the party of the sons of Pallas was powerful: their disappointment was equally great and unexpected; and no hope remaining to accomplish their wishes by other means, they withdrew from the city, collected their adherents, and returned in arms. The tide of popular inclination, however, now ran so violently towards Theseus, that some even of their confidents were drawn away with it. A design which they had formed to surprize the city was discovered to their adversaries; part of their troops were in consequence cut off, the rest dispersed; and the faction was completely quelled.

Quiet being thus restored to Athens, Theseus sought every opportunity to increase the popularity

[31] Pausanias travelled through Greece in the reign of Antonius Pius, who succeeded to the Roman empire in the year after Christ 151.

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he had acquired. Military fame was the mean to which his active spirit chiefly inclined him; but, as the state had now no enemies, he exercised his valor in the destruction of wild beasts, and added not a little to his reputation by delivering the country from a savage bull, which had done great mischief in the neighborhood of Marathon. Report went, congenial to the superstition of the age, that this furious animal was the minister of vengeance of the god Neptune against the people of Attica. Theseus took him alive, and, after leading him in procession through the city, sacrificed him to Minerva[32]. If these anecdotes were no otherwise worthy of notice, they tend at least to characterize the times, and to mark the circumstances which gave that great estimation to bodily ability and personal courage. But there seems another view in which they are not wholly undeserving attention. In this age, and particularly in this country, where happily wild beasts dangerous to man are strangers, we are apt to look upon stories of destructive bulls and boars as ridiculous fables. Yet the testimony which Herodotus gives to the authenticity of them, in the first book of his History, must be allowed a very strong one. He tells us that, not long before the age in which himself lived, the Mysians, then subjects of Crœsus, king of Lydia, sent a formal deputation to their monarch, to request his assistance against a monstrous boar, which made great ravages in their fields; and, in their several attempts to destroy him, had done them mischief but received none. How far

Isocrat. Helen. encom. Diod. l. 4. c. 61. Plut. Thes. Pausan. l. 1. c. 27.

[32] Diodorus says, to Apollo, and he is followed by Plutarch. It is of little consequence upon this occasion; only it may be observed that Pausanias is generally better authority than either; more accurate than Plutarch, and more judicious than Diodorus.

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indeed boars were terrible animals, we may judge from a passage in Hesiod's Shield of Hercules, where they are described fighting with lions, and nearly equal in the combat. But fire-arms give us, in these times, a superiority over the brute creation, which men in the early ages were far from possessing. To this day, when a tiger shows himself about the villages of the unwarlike inhabitants of India, they apply to Europeans, if any are near, for assistance, as against an enemy which themselves are unable to cope with.

An opportunity, however, soon offered for Theseus to do his country more essential service, and to acquire more illustrious fame. The Athenians, in a war with Minos, king of Crete, had been reduced to purchase peace of that powerful monarch by a yearly tribute of seven youths, and as many virgins. Coined money was not common till some centuries after his age; and slaves and cattle were not only the principal riches, but the most commodious and usual standards by which the value of other things was determined. A tribute of slaves, therefore, was perhaps the most convenient that Minos could impose; Attica maintaining few cattle, and those being less easily transported. The burthen was, however, borne with much uneasiness by the Athenians; and the return of the Cretan ship at the usual time to demand the tribute, excited fresh and loud murmurs against the government of Ægeus. Theseus took an extraordinary step, but perfectly suited to the heroïc character which he affected, for appeasing the popular discontent. The tributary youths and virgins had been hitherto drawn by lot from the body of the people. He voluntarily offered himself as one of them. Report went, that those unfortunate victims were thrown into the famous labyrinth

Plutarch. Thes. Plat. de Leg. l. 4. p. 706. t. 2. ed. Serran. Isocrat. Helen. encom. Pausan. l. 1. c. 27.

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built by Dædalus, and there devoured by the Minotaur, a monster, half-man and half-bull. This fable was probably no invention of the poets, who embellished it in more polished ages: it may have been devised at the very time we are treating of, and even have found credit among a people of an imagination so lively, and a judgement so uninformed, as were then the Athenians. The offer of Theseus, therefore, really magnanimous, appeared thus an unparalleled effort of patriotic heroïsm. Antient writers, who have endevored to investigate truth among the intricacies of fabulous tradition, tell us that the labyrinth was a fortress, where prisoners were usually kept, and that a Cretan General, its governor, named Taurus, which in Greek signifies a bull, gave rise to the fiction of the Minotaur. There appears, however, sufficient testimony that Theseus was received by Minos more agreeably to the character of a great and generous prince, than of a tyrant, who gave his captives to be devoured by monsters. But during this the florishing age of Crete, letters were, if at all known, little used in Greece. In aftertimes, when the Athenians bore the sway in litterature, their tragedians, flattering vulgar prejudices, exhibited Minos in odious colors; and through the popularity of their ingenious works, their calumnious misrepresentations, as Plutarch has observed, overbore the eulogies of the elder poets, even of Hesiod and Homer. Thus the particulars of the adventures of Theseus in Crete, and of his return to Athens, have been so disguised, that even to guess at the truth is difficult. For these early ages Homer is our best guide; but he has mixed mythology with his short notice of the adventure of Theseus in Crete. A rational interpretation nevertheless is obvious. Minos, surprized probably at the arrival of the Athe-

Plutarch. Thes.

Plat. Minos.

Odyss. l. 9. v. 320.

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nian prince among the tributary slaves, received him honorably, became partial to his merit, and, after some experience of it, gave him his daughter Ariadnë in marriage. In the voyage to Athens, the princess was taken with sudden sickness; and, being landed in the iland of Naxos, where Bacchus was esteemed the tutelary deity, she died there. If we add the supposition that Theseus, eager to communicate the news of his extraordinary success, proceeded on his voyage, while the princess was yet living, no farther foundation would be wanting for the fables which have made these names so familiar. What alone we learn with any certainty from Athenian tradition is, that Theseus freed his country from farther payment of the ignominious and cruel tribute.

This atchievement, by whatsoever means effected, was so bold in the undertaking; so complete in the success, so important and so interesting in the consequences, that it deservedly raised Theseus to the highest popularity among the Athenians. Sacrifices and processions were instituted in honor of it, and were continued while the Pagan religion had existence in Athens. The vessel in which he made his voyage was sent yearly in solemn pomp to the sacred iland of Delos, where rites of thanksgiving were performed to Apollo. Through the extreme veneration in which it was held, it was so anxiously preserved, that in Plato's time it was said to be still the same vessel; tho at length its frequent repairs gave occasion to the dispute, which became famous among the sophists, whether it was or was not still the same. On his father's death the common voice supported his claim to the succession, and he showed himself not less capable of improving the state by his wisdom, than of defending it by his valor. The twelve

Plat. Phædon. p. 58. t. 1. ed. Serran.

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15. Strabo, l. 9. p. 297. Plutarch. Thes.

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districts into which Cecrops had divided Attica, were become so many independent commonwealths, with scarcely any bond of union but their acknowlegment of one chief, whose authority was not always sufficient to keep them from mutual hostilities. The inconveniencies of such a constitution were great and obvious, but the remedy full of difficulty. Theseus, however, undertook it, and effected that change which laid the foundation of the future glory of Athens, while it ranks him among the most illustrious patriots that adorn the annals of mankind. Going through every district, with that judicial authority which, in the early state of all monarchal governments, has been attached to the kingly office, and with those powers of persuasion which he is said largely to have possessed, he put an end to civil contest. He proposed then the abolition of all the independent magistracies, councils, and courts of justice, and the substitution of one common council of legislation, and one common system of judicature. The lower people readily came into his measures. The rich and powerful, who shared among them the independent magistracies, were more inclined to opposition. To satisfy these, therefore, he offered, with a disinterestedness of which history affords few examples, to give up much of his own power; and appropriating to himself only the cares and dangers of royalty, to share with his people authority, honor, wealth, all that is commonly most valued in it. Few were inclined to resist so equitable and generous a proposal: the most selfish and most obstinate dared not. Theseus therefore proceeded quietly to new-model the commonwealth.

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15. Xenoph. de Venat. c. 1. Isocrat. Helen. encom. Plutarch. Thes.

Isocr. Helen. encom. Plutarch. Thes.

He began with the dissolution of all the independent councils and jurisdictions in the several towns and districts, and the removal of all the more impor-

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15. Plutarch. Thes.

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B. C. 968. N. 1234. B.

tant civil business to Athens; where he built a council-hall and courts of justice, in the place (says Plutarch, who wrote about the beginning of the second century of the Christian era) where they now stand. This was the improvement of most obvious advantage: his next measure has at least the appearance of a deeper policy. Having observed that sense of weakness natural to all mankind, which induces them to look up to some superior being, known or unknown, for protection[33]; having remarked the effects, on the minds of his fellow-countrymen, of the various opinions held among them upon this universally interesting subject; having probably adverted particularly to their superstitious attachment to the imaginary deities esteemed peculiarly tutelar of the respective towns; he wisely judged that the civil union, so happily effected, would be incomplete, or at least unstable, if he did not cement it by an equal union in religious concerns. He wisely avoided, however, to shock rooted prejudices by any abolition of established religious ceremonies. Leaving those peculiar to each district as they stood, he instituted, or improved and laid open for all in common, one feast and sacrifice, in honor of the goddess Athena, or Minerva, for all the inhabitants of Attica. This feast he called Panathenæa, the feast of all the Athenians or people of Minerva; and thenceforward, apparently, all the inhabitants of Attica, esteeming themselves unitedly under the particular protection of that goddess, uniformly distinguished themselves by a name formed from hers: for they were before variously called, from their race, Ionians; from their country, Atticans; or from their princes, Cranaäns, Cecropians, or Erech-

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15. Plutarch. Thes.

[33] —Πάντες δὲ θεῶν χατέουσ' ἄνθρωποι. Odyss. l. 3. v. 48.

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Xenoph. de Venat. c. 1.

theids[34]. To this scheme of union, conceived with a depth of judgement, and executed with a moderation of temper, so little to be expected in that age, the Athenians may well be said to owe all their after greatness. Without it, Attica, like Bœotia, and other provinces, whose circumstances will come hereafter under notice, would probably have contained several little republics, united only in name; each too weak to preserve dignity, or even to secure independency to its separate government; and possessing nothing so much in common as occasions for perpetual disagreement.

Plutarch attributes to Theseus the honor of having been the first prince ever known to have resigned absolute power with the noble purpose to establish a free government. All early tradition, however, and even the narration of Plutarch himself, shows that the Attic monarchs, whatever they might arrogate, were far from possessing absolute power; and from the more accurate Strabo it appears, as indeed from every account of the Cretan constitu-

[34] Herodotus reports, that the original inhabitants of Attica were of the Pelasgian hord, and distinguished by the name of Cranaäns (1); that when Cecrops became prince of the country, his subjects were called, from his name, Cecropians; and that under the reign of Erechtheus the name of Athenians first obtained. But it has been generally held by later writers, that Cranaüs succeeded Cecrops in the throne of Attica; and that from him the people must have had the name of Cranaäns, as they afterward sometimes bore that of Erechtheids from Erechtheus. Hence the modern learned have supposed a fault in the copies of Herodotus, and have proposed ingenious amendments (2). Perhaps, however, we had better leave the copies of Herodotus as we find them, and pay a little more attention to an expression of Strabo, where he is treating of the early history of Attica, Ὅτε δὴ τὴν Ατθίδα συγγράψαντες πολλὰ διαφωνοῦντες. Strab. l. 9. p. 392.

(1) Herodot. l. 8. c. 44.
(2) See Wesseling's Herodotus, b. 7. c. 44. note 74, 75.

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tion, that Minos has the fairer claim to preëminence in patriotic glory. It is emphatically said by Strabo, that the Cretan lawgiver seems to have proposed the liberty of the subject as the great object of his institutions; and much of the noble liberality of Theseus's system has probably been derived from the Cretan source. It may have been on better foundation asserted by Plutarch, that Theseus was the first Grecian lawgiver who established a distinction of ranks; tho even this is contradicted by Strabo, who says that Ion, son of Xuthus, had before divided the people of Attica nearly in the manner ascribed by Plutarch to Theseus. The age and actions of Ion are, however, of very uncertain historical evidence; and, except in Egypt, we are little assured of the existence of any such political arrangement before Theseus. Under that prince something of the kind became the more necessary, according to Plutarch, from the number of strangers who, in consequence of public incouragement, resorted to Athens, and, conformably to antient custom, were admitted to the rights of citizens. The whole commonwealth was therefore divided into three classes; nobility, husbandmen, and artificers. The executive and judicial powers, with the superintendency of religion, were appropriated to the former. A share in the legislature, extending to all, insured civil freedom to all; and no distinction prevailed, as in every other Grecian province, between the people of the capital and those of the inferior towns, but all were united, under the Athenian name, in the injoyment of every privilege of Athenian citizens. When his improvements were completed, Theseus, according to the policy which became usual for giving authority to great innovations and all uncommon undertakings, is said to have procured a declaration

Strabo, l. 10. p. 480.

Strabo, l. 8. p. 383.

Plutarch. Thes. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 2.

Plutarch. Thes.

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of divine approbation from the prophetical shrine of Delphi.

Thus the province of Attica, containing a triangular tract of land with two sides about fifty miles long, and the third forty[35], was molded into a well-united and well-regulated commonwealth, whose chief magistrate was yet hereditary, and retained the title of king. In consequence of so improved a state of things, the Athenians began, the first of all the Greeks, to acquire more civilized manners. Thucydides remarks, that they were the first who dropped the practice, formerly general among the Greeks, of going constantly armed; and who introduced a civil dress in contradistinction to the military. This particularity, if not introduced by Theseus, appears to have been not less early, since it struck Homer, who marks the Athenians by the appellation of long-robed Ionians[36]. If we may credit Plutarch, Theseus coined money; which was certainly rare in Greece two centuries after.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 6.

The rest of the history of Theseus affords little worthy of notice. It is composed of a number of the wildest adventures, many of them consistent enough with the character of the times, but very little so with what is related of the former part of his life. It seems indeed as if historians had inverted the order of things; giving to his riper years the ex-

[35] Barthelemi makes Attica less; but Stuart's survey, in the third volume of his Antiquities of Athens, gives nearly the measures in the text.

[36] Ἴάονες ἑλκεχίτωνες. Iliad, l. 13. v. 685. We may wonder that the commentators on Homer, and particularly that Mr. Wood, should have been at any loss to apply this name Iaones; for the scholiast says that the Athenians are meant by it: he is supported by Strabo, b. 9. p. 392. and if there could be any doubt of their authority, it would be removed by the use which Æschylus has made of exactly the same name, calling Attica Ἰαόνων γῆν. Pers. p. 133. ed. H. Steph.

travagance of his youth, after having attributed to his earliest manhood what the maturest age has seldom equalled. He is said to have lost, in the end, all favor and all authority among the Athenians, and, tho his institutions remained in vigor, to have died in exile. After him Menestheus, a person of the royal family, acquired the sovereinty, or at least the first magistracy with the title of king, and commanded the Athenian troops in the Trojan war. Homer. Il. l. 2. v. 552.

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SECTION IV.

Early People of Asia Minor and Thrace. Origin and Progress of the Trojan State. Licentious Manners of the early Ages. Early Hostilities between Greece and Asia. Expedition of Paris: Rape of Helen: League of the Grecian Princes: Sacrifice of Iphigenia: Difficulties of the Greeks in the Trojan War: Troy taken: Return of the Greeks: Consequences of their absence: Assassination of Agamemnon. Credit due to Homer's Historical Evidence. Resemblance of the Trojan War to Circumstances in modern History.

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It appears, from a strong concurrence of circumstances recorded by antient writers, that the early inhabitants of Asia Minor, Thrace, and Greece, were the same people. The Leleges, Caucones, and Pelasgians, enumerated by Homer among the Asiatic nations, are mentioned by Strabo as the principal names among those, whom at the same time he calls Barbarians, who in earliest times occupied Greece. Homer speaks of the Thracian Thamyris contending in song with the Muses in Peloponnesus. But the Muses themselves, according to Hesiod, were of Pieria, which, till it became incorporated with the Macedonian kingdom, was esteemed a Thracian province; and the whole Thracian people were, by some antient writers, included within the Ionian

Iliad. l. 5. v. 429. Strabo, l. 7. p. 321. Iliad. l. 2. v. 595. & Strabo, l. 8. p. 350. Hes. Op. & Di. v. 1.

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name; the general name, with all the orientals, for the Greek nation. Herodotus asserts that the antient hymns sung at the festival of Apollo at Delos, were composed by Olen, a Lycian; and Pausanias says that the hymns of Olen, the Lycian, were the oldest known to the Greeks, and that Olen, the Hyperborean, who seems to have been the same person, was the inventor of the Grecian hexameter verse. It seems a necessary inference that the language both of Thrace and of Lycia was Greek. The hymns of Thamyris and Orpheus were admired for singular sweetness even in Plato's time: and the Thracian Thamyris, or Thamyras, Orpheus, Musæus and Eumolpus, with the Lycian Olen, were the acknowleged fathers of Grecian poetry, the acknowleged reformers of Grecian manners; those who, according to Grecian accounts, began that polish in morals, manners, and language, which in after-ages characterized the Greek, and distinguished him from the barbarian[37]. Olympus, the father of Grecian music, whose compositions, which Plato calls divine, retained the highest reputation even in Plutarch's time, was a Phrygian[38]. In the Grecian mythology we find continual references to Asiatic and Thracian stories; and even in the heroïc ages, which followed the mystic, the Greeks and Asiatics appear to have communicated as kindred people. Pelops, a fugitive Asiatic prince, acquired a kingdom by marriage in Peloponnesus; and Bellerophon, a prince of Corinth, in the same manner acquired the kingdom of

Hesych. voc. Herodot. l. 4. c. 35. Pausan. l. 1. c. 18. l. 5. c. 7. l. 9. c. 27. & l. 10. c. 5.

Plat. de Leg. l. 8. p. 829. t. 2. ed. Serran.

[37] Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελεστὰς δ' ἡμῖν κατέδεξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι. Aristoph. Ranæ. v. 1064.

[38] - - - - Μαρσύας καὶ Ὄλυμπος ὁ Φρύξ. Τούτων δὴ καὶ τὰ αὐλήματα θειότατά ἐστι, καὶ μόνα κινεῖ,—καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μόνα λοιπά ἐστιν ὡς θεῖα ὄντα. Plat. Minos. p. 318. t. 2. Ὄλυμπος ὁ Μαρσύου μαθήτης——ἀρχηγός τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ καλῆς μουσικῆς. Plutarch. de Music.

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Lycia, in Asia. Herodotus remarks that the Lydian laws and manners, even in his time, very nearly resembled the Grecian; and the Lycians and Pamphylians were so evidently of the same race with the Greeks, that he supposed them the descendants of emigrants from Crete, from Athens, and other parts of Greece. The inhabitants of Thrace are not distinguished by Homer for that peculiar barbarism which afterward characterized them: apparently they were upon a level nearly in civilization with the other people around the Ægean. But while Greece, protected by barrier mountains and almost-surrounding seas, had neither disturbance nor alarm but from the petty contentions of its own people, Thrace, bordering on a vast extent of continent, the prolific nourisher of the fiercest savages known in history, had other difficulties to combat. Probably among those general movements of nations, those many migrations and expulsions which, according to Strabo, followed the Trojan times, the hords of the northern wilds, pouring down in irresistible numbers from the snowy heights of Hæmus and Rhodopë, overwhelmed the civilized people of the coast; destroying many, driving some to seek securer settlements elsewhere, and reducing the rest by degrees to their own barbarism.

Iliad. l. 6. v. 152. Herodot. l. 1. c. 35. & 73. & 94. & l. 7. c. 91. & 92. Strabo, l. 14. p. 668. Pausan. l. 7. c. 3.

Strabo, l. 12. p. 572.

Asia Minor, upon the whole less favorably circumstanced than Greece, was yet far more fortunately situated than Thrace; defended on three sides by seas, and on the fourth communicating by land with those countries whence all civilization came. But the western coast of Asia Minor is universally described as one of the most delicious countries in the world; remarkable for fruitfulness of soil, and particularly excelling Greece in softness of climate. The governments formed there, in the ear-

Pausan. l. 7. c.

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liest times, mostly commanded a greater extent of territory than those of Greece; an advantage which they seem to have owed, not intirely to a higher degree of civilization in the people, but much to the extent of the Asiatic plains, less divided by mountains and seas into small portions with difficulty accessible from each other. But a country so happy by nature could not, without a polity very superior to what was then common, escape those miseries which the passions or the necessities of mankind were continually occasioning. The coast was nearly deserted; people civilized enough to cultivate the arts of peace withdrew from the ravages of piracy to inland tracts, less fertile and less favored by climate, but where, through the security injoyed, some considerable sovereinties appear to have arisen at a very remote period.

The first powerful settlement upon the coast, of which we are informed, was that of Troy; and the sketch which Homer has left us of the rise of this state, slight as it is and mingled with fable, is yet perhaps the clearest as well as the most genuine picture existing, of the progress of population and political society in their approach to Europe[39]. The origin of Dardanus, founder of the Trojan state, has been very variously related; but we may best believe the testimony of Homer to the utter uncertainty of his birth and native country, delivered in the terms that he was the son of Jupiter[40]. Thus, however, it

Iliad. l. 20. v. 215.

[39] Thus it appears Plato thought. See his third Dialogue on Legislation, p. 681. vol. 2.

[40] Homer seems to have known nothing of Teucer, who is said by Diodorus, and other later writers, to have been the founder of the Trojan state; in the sovereinty of which, according to them, he was succeeded by Dardanus, who married his daughter. Virgil has chosen to abide by Homer's account. Æn. l. 6. v. 650. & l. 8. v. 134.

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appears that the Greeks not unwillingly acknowleged consanguinity with the Trojans; for many, indeed most, of the Grecian heroes also claimed their descent from Jupiter. It is moreover remarkable that, among the many geneälogies which Homer has transmitted, none is traced so far into antiquity as that of the royal family of Troy. Dardanus was ancestor in the sixth degree to Hector, and may thus have lived from a hundred and fifty to two hundred years before that hero. On one of the many ridges projecting from the foot of the lofty mountain of Ida, in the north-western part of Asia Minor, he founded a town, or perhaps rather a castle, which, from his own name, was called Dardania. His situation commanded a narrow but highly fruitful plain, watered by the streams of Simios and Scamander, and stretching from the roots of Ida to the Hellespont northward, and the Ægeän sea westward. His son Erichthonius, who succeeded him in the sovereinty of this territory, had the reputation of being the richest man of his age. Much of his wealth seems to have been derived from a large stock of brood mares, to the number, according to the poet, of three thousand, which the fertility of his soil inabled him to maintain, and which, by his care and judgement in the choice of stallions, produced a breed of horses superior to any of the surrounding countries. Tros, son of Erichthonius, probably extended, or in some other way improved the territory of Dardania; since the appellation by which it was known to posterity was derived from his name. With the riches the population of the state of course increased. Ilus, son of Tros, therefore ventured to move his residence from the mountain, and founded, on a rising ground beneath, that celebrated city which was called from his name Ilion, but which is more familiarly known

Iliad. l. 22. v. 216.

Strab. l. 13. p. 583, 584.

Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 682.

Strabo, l. 13. p. 593.

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in modern languages by the name of Troy, derived from his father. The temptation however to attack, was augmented in full proportion with the means to defend. Twice, before that war which Homer has made so famous, Troy is said to have been taken and plundered: and for its second capture, by Hercules, in the reign of Laomedon son of Ilus, we have Homer's authority. The government however revived, and still advanced in power and splendor. Laomedon, after his misfortune, fortified his city in a manner so superior to what was common in his age, that the walls of Troy were said to be a work of the gods. Under his son Priam the Trojan state was very florishing and of considerable extent; containing, under the name of Phrygia, the country afterward called Troäs, together with both shores of the Hellespont, and the large and fertile iland of Lesbos[41].

Iliad. l. 5. v. 640. & Pindar. Olymp. 8.

Iliad. l. 24. v. 544. Strab. l. 13.

A frequent communication, sometimes friendly, but oftener hostile, was maintained between the eastern and western coasts of the Ægeän sea: each was an object of piracy more than of commerce to the inhabitants of the opposite country. Cattle and slaves constituting the principal riches of the times, men, women, and children, together with swine, sheep, goats, oxen, and horses, were principal objects of plunder. But scarcely was any crime more common than rapes: and it seems to have been a kind of fashion, in consequence of which the leaders of piratical expeditions gratified their vanity in the highest degree, when they could carry off a lady of supe-

[41] Strabo (1) distinguishes the Trojan country by the name of Hellespontine Phrygia. It was divided by Mysia from the large inland tract afterward called Phrygia, whose people are mentioned in Homer's Catalogue as allies of the Trojans coming from afar (2).

(1) b. v. 13. p. 363. (2) Iliad. l. 2. v. 862. Strab. l. 12. p. 564.

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rior rank. How usual these outrages were among the Greeks, we may gather from the condition said to have been exacted by Tyndareus, king of Sparta, father of the celebrated Helen, from the chieftians who came to ask his daughter in marriage: he required of all, as a preliminary, to bind themselves by solemn oaths, that, should she be stolen, they would assist with their utmost power to recover her. This tradition, with many other stories of Grecian rapes, on whatsoever founded, indicates with certainty the opinion of the later Greeks, among whom they were popular, concerning the manners of their ancestors[42]. But it does not follow that the Greeks were more vicious than other people equally unhabituated to constant, vigorous, and well-regulated exertions of law and government. Equal licentiousness, but a few centuries ago, prevailed throughout western Europe. Hence those gloomy habitations of the antient nobility, which excite the wonder of the traveller, particularly in the southern parts; where, in the midst of the finest countries, he often finds them in situations so very inconvenient and uncomfortable, except for what was then the one great object, security, that now the houseless peasant will scarcely go to them for shelter[43]. From the licentiousness were derived the manners, and even the virtues of the times; and hence knight-errantry with its whimsical consequences.

Robertson's History of Charles V.

The expedition of Paris, son of Priam king of Troy, into Greece, appears to have been a maroding adventure, such as was then usual. We are told,

[42] The story of the oath required by Tyndareus is mentioned by Thucydides (l. 1. c. 9.) in a manner that indicates it to have been both antient and generally received.

[43] So it was in the south of France, at least before the revolution, when this volume was written.

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indeed, that he was received very hospitably and entertained very kindly by Menelaüs, king of Sparta. But this also was consonant to the spirit of the times; for hospitality has always been the virtue of barbarous ages: it is at this day no less characteristical of the wild Arabs than their spirit of robbery; and we know that, in the Scottish Highlands, robbery and hospitality equally florished together till very lately. Hospitality, indeed, will be generally found to have florished, in different ages and countries, very nearly in proportion to the necessity for it; that is, in proportion to the deficiency of jurisprudence, and the weakness of government. Paris concluded his visit at Sparta with carrying off Helen, wife of Menelaüs, together with a considerable treasure: and whether this was effected by fraud, or, as some have supposed, by open violence, it is probable enough that, as Herodotus relates, it was first concerted, and afterward supported, in revenge for some similar injury done by the Greeks to the Trojans.

Iliad. l. 3. v. 354.

An outrage, however, so grossly injurious to one of the greatest princes of Greece, especially if attended with a breach of the rights of hospitality, might not unreasonably be urged as a cause requiring the united revenge of all the Grecian chieftains. But there were other motives to ingage them in the quarrel. The hope of returning laden with the spoil of the richer provinces of Asia, was a strong incentive to leaders poor at home, and bred to rapine. The authority and influence of Agamemnon, king of Argos, brother of Menelaüs, were also weighty. The spirit of the age, his own temper, the extent of his power, the natural desire of exerting it on a splendid occasion, would all incite this prince eagerly to adopt his brother's quarrel. He

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 9.

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is besides represented by character qualified to create and command a powerful league; ambitious, active, brave, generous, humane; vain, indeed, and haughty, sometimes to his own injury, yet commonly repressing those hurtful qualities, and watchful to cultivate popularity. Under this leader all the Grecian chieftains, from the end of Peloponnesus to the end of Thessaly, together with Idomeneus from Crete, and other commanders from some of the smaller ilands, assembled at Aulis, a sea-port of Bœotia. The Acarnanians alone, separated from the rest of Greece by lofty mountains, and a sea at that time little navigated, had no share in the expedition. A story acquired celebrity in aftertimes, that, the fleet being long detained at Aulis by contrary winds, Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, as a propitiatory offering, to obtain from the gods a safe and speedy passage to the Trojan coast. To the credit of his character, however, it is added that he submitted to this abominable cruelty with extreme reluctance, compelled by the clamours of the army, who were persuaded that the gods required the victim; nor were there wanting those who asserted that, by a humane fraud, the princess was at last saved, under favor of a report that a fawn was miraculously sent by the goddess Diana, to be sacrificed in her stead. Indeed the story, tho of such fame, and so warranted by early authorities, that some notice of it seemed requisite, wants, it must be confessed, wholly the best authentication for matters of that very early age; for neither Homer, tho he enumerates Agamemnon's daughters, nor Hesiod, who not only mentions the assembling of the Grecian forces under his command at Aulis, but specifies their detention by bad weather, have left one word about so remarkable an event as this sacrifice.

Isocrat. Panathen. p. 472. ed. Paris. Auger. Hom. Il. passim. B. C. 914. N. 1193. B. Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 2. v. 269.

Pausan. l. 9. c. 19.

Pindar. Pyth. 2. Æschyl. Agamem. p. 220. ed. H. Steph.

Iliad. l. 9. v. 145.

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The fleet at length had a prosperous voyage. It consisted of about twelve hundred open vessels, each carrying from fifty to a hundred and twenty men. The number of men in the whole armament, computed from the mean of those two numbers mentioned by Homer as the complement of different ships, would be something more than a hundred thousand; and Thucydides, whose opinion is of the highest authority, tells us that this is within the bounds of probability; tho, as he adds, a poet would go to the utmost of current reports. The army, having made good their landing on the Trojan coast, were so superior to the enemy as to oblige them immediately to seek shelter within the city-walls; but here the operations were at a stand. The hazards to which unfortified and solitary dwellings were exposed from pirates and freebooters, had driven the more peaceable of mankind to assemble in towns for mutual security. To erect lofty walls around those towns for defence, was then an obvious invention, and required little more than labor for the execution. More thought, more art, more experience were necessary for forcing the rudest fortification, if defended with vigilance and courage. But the Trojan walls were singularly strong; Agamemnon's army could make no impression upon them. He was therefore reduced to the method most common for ages after, of turning the siege into a blockade, and patiently waiting till want of necessaries should force the enemy to quit their shelter. But neither did the policy of the times amount, by many degrees, to the art of subsisting so numerous an army for any length of time; nor would the revenues of Greece have been equal to it with more knowlege; nor indeed would the state of things have admitted it, scarcely with

Iliad. l. 2.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 10.

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any wealth, or by any means. For in countries without commerce, the people providing for their own wants only, supplies can never be found equal to the maintenance of a superadded army. No sooner therefore did the Trojans shut themselves within their walls, than the Greeks were obliged to give their principal attention to the means of subsisting their numerous forces. The common method of the times was to ravage the adjacent countries; and this they immediately put in practice. But such a resource soon destroys itself. To have therefore a more permanent and certain supply, they sent a part of their army to cultivate the vales of the Thracian Chersonese, then abandoned by their inhabitants on account of the frequent and destructive incursions of the wild people who occupied the interior of that continent.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 11.

Homr Il. l. 1. v. 366. l. 9. v. 329. & l. 20. v. 91. & 188. Odyss. l. 3. v. 106. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 11.

Large bodies being thus detached from the army, the remainder scarcely sufficed to deter the Trojans from taking the field again, and could not prevent succour and supplies from being carried into the town. Thus the siege was protraced to the enormous length of ten years. It was probably their success in maroding marches and pirating voyages that induced the Greeks to persevere so long. Achilles is said to have plundered no less than twelve maritime and eleven inland towns. Lesbos, then under the dominion of the monarch of Troy, was among his conquests; and the women of that iland were apportioned to the victorious army, as a part of the booty. But these circumstances, alarming all neighboring people, contributed to procure numerous and powerful allies to the Trojans. Not only the Asiatic states, to a great extent eastward and southward, sent auxiliary troops, but also the European west-

Homer. & Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 682. Iliad. l. 9. v. 329.

Iliad. l. 6. v. 129. Odyss. l. 3. v. 106.

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ward, as far as the Pæonians of that country about the river Axius, which afterward became Macedonia. At length, in the tenth year of the war, after great exertions of valor and the slaughter of numbers on both sides, among whom were many of the highest rank, Troy yielded to its fate. Yet was it not then overcome by open force: stratagem is reported by Homer: fraud and treachery have been supposed by later writers. It was, however, taken and plundered: the venerable monarch was slain: the queen and her daughters, together with one only son remaining of a very numerous male progeny, were led into captivity. According to some, not only the city was totally destroyed, but the very name of the people from that time lost. Others, and among them Strabo, maintain, on the authority of Homer himself, whose words upon the occasion seem indeed scarcely dubious, that Æneas and his posterity reigned afterward over the Trojan country and people. That the town suffered so as never more to recover anything approaching its former importance, appears, in all views, likely. According to tradition, recorded by the geographer, the city of Scepsis became the seat of government, under the joint reigns of Scamandrius, son of Hector, and Ascanius, son of Æneas, and their successors. The final overthrow of the Trojan state and name, if Xenophon's authority may confirm Strabo's testimony, was produced by that, following immediately from Greece, which obtained the name of the Æolic migration, and which will require farther notice hereafter.

Iliad. l. 2. v. 844. & seq. & Strabo, l. 7. p. 330. B. C. 904. N. 1184. B. Odyss. l. 8. v. 492.

Wood on Homer.

Strabo, l. 13. p. 608. Iliad. l. 20. v. 302.

Xenoph. de Venat. c. 1.

Nothing apparently so much as the poetical elegance of ingenuity, everywhere intermixed with early Grecian history, has driven many to slight it as merely fabulous, who have been disposed to pay

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great respect to the early history of Rome; giving a credit to the solemn adulation of the grave historians of Italy to their own country, which they deny to the fanciful indeed and inaccurate, but surely honest and unflattering accounts remaining of elder Greece. Agamemnon, we are told, triumphed over Troy: and the historical evidence to the fact is large. But the Grecian poets themselves universally acknowlege that it was a dear-bought, a mournful triumph. Few of the princes, who survived to partake of it, could have any injoyment of their hard-earned glory in their native country. None expecting that the war would detain them so long from home, none had made due provision for the regular administration of their affairs during such an absence. It is indeed probable that the utmost wisdom and forethought would have been unequal to the purpose. For, in the half-formed governments of those days, the constant presence of the prince, as supreme regulator, was necessary to keep the whole from running presently into utter confusion. Seditions, therefore, and revolutions were almost as numerous as the cities of Greece. Many of the princes were compelled to imbark again with their adherents, to seek settlements in distant countries, without a hope of revisiting their native soil. A more tragical fate awaited Agamemnon. His queen, Clytemnestra, having given her affection to his kinsman Ægistheus, concurred in a plot against her husband, and the unfortunate monarch, on his return to Argos, was assassinated; those of his friends who escaped the massacre, were compelled to fly with his son, Orestes; and, so strong was the party, which their long possession of the government had inabled the conspirators to form, the usurper obtained complete possession of the throne.—Orestes found refuge at

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 12. Plat. de. Leg. l. 3. p. 682.

Odyss l. 1. c. 36. & al. Plat. Theages. p. 124. t. 1.

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Athens; where alone, among the Grecian states, there seems to have been a constitution capable of bearing both the absence and the return of the army and its commander, without any essential derangement.

Such were the Trojan war and its consequences, according to the best of the unconnected and defective accounts remaining, among which those of Homer have always held the first rank. The authority, however, of the great poet, as an historian, has in modern times been variously estimated. Among the antients, it was less questioned. As it is of highest importance to the history of the early ages that it should have its due weight, I will mention here some of the circumstances which principally establish its authority: others will occur hereafter. In Homer's age, then, it should be remembered, poets were the only historians; whence, tho it does not at all follow that poets would always scrupulously adhere to truth, yet it necessarily follows, that veracity, in historical narration, would make a large share of a poet's merit in public opinion; a circumstance which the common use of written records, and prose histories, instantly and totally altered.—The probability, and the very remarkable consistency of Homer's historical anecdotes, variously dispersed as they are among his poetical details and embellishments, form a second and powerful testimony. Indeed the connection and the clearness of Grecian history through the very early times of which Homer has treated, appear very extraordinary, when compared with the darkness and uncertainty that begin in the instant of our losing his guidance, and continue through ages. In confirmation then of this presumptive evidence, we have very complete positive proof to the only point that

could admit of it, his geography; which has wonderfully stood the most scrupulous inquiries from those who were every way qualified to make them. From all these, with perhaps other considerations, followed, what we may add in the fourth place, the credit given to Homer's history by the most judicious prose-writers of antiquity; among the early ones particularly by Thucydides, and among the later by Strabo. SECT. IV.

But the very fame of the principal persons and events celebrated by Homer seems to have led some to question their reality. Perhaps it may not be an improper digression here to bring to the reader's recollection a passage in the history of the British ilands, bearing so close an analogy to some of the most remarkable circumstances in Homer's history, that it affords no inconsiderable collateral support to that poet's authority, as a faithful relater of facts and painter of manners. Exploits like that of Paris were, in the twelfth century, not uncommon in Ireland. In a lower line, they have been frequent there still in our days; but in that age popular opinion was so favorable to them, that even princes, like Jason, and Paris, gloried in such proofs of their gallantry and spirit. Dermot, king of Leinster, accordingly formed a design on Dervorghal, a celebrated beauty, wife of O'Ruark, king of Leitrim; and, between force and fraud, he succeeded in carrying her off. O'Ruark resented the affront, as might be expected. He procured a confederacy of neighboring chieftains, with the king of Connaught, the most powerful prince of Ireland, at their head. Leinster was invaded, the princess was recovered, and, after hostilities continued with various success during many years, Dermot was expelled from his kingdom. Thus far the resemblance holds with

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much exactness. The sequel differs: for the rape of Dervorghal, beyond comparison inferior in celebrity, had yet consequences far more important than the rape of Helen. The fugitive Dermot, deprived of other hope, applied to the powerful monarch of the neighboring iland, Henry the second; and in return for assistance to restore him to his dominions, offered to hold them in vassalage of the crown of England. The English conquest of Ireland followed[44].

[44] Mr. Hume, in his history of England, has written the name of the heroine of this story, OMACH. Dr. Leland's History of Ireland is here followed, with which Mr. Hume's more abridged account, in all material circumstances, sufficiently tallies. Lord Lyttelton, in his History of Henry the second, both relates the facts and writes the names nearly as Dr. Leland.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Religion, Government, Jurisprudence, Science, Arts, Commerce, and Manners, of the early Greeks.

SECTION I.

Of the Progress of Things from the East into Greece, and of the Religion of the early Greeks.

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However less complete than we might wish the historical information remaining from Homer may be, we have yet, from his masterly hand, a finished picture of the manners and principles of his age, domestic as well as political; which, sublime and magnificent as it is in the general outline and composition, descends at the same time to so many minute particulars, as to leave our curiosity scarcely in anything ungratified. It belongs not to history to detail every circumstance of this entertaining and instructive tablet, which yet abounds with matter not to be left unnoticed.

But, in considering the first ages of Greece, we find our view continually led toward those earliest seats of empire and of science, which we usually call collectively the East. And there so vast and so interesting a field of inquiry presents itself, yet, like forms in distant landscape, so confused by aërial tints, and by length and intricacy of perspective,

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that it is not easy to determine where and how far investigation ought to be attempted, and when precisely the voice of caution should be obeyed, rather than that of curiosity. Certainly to bewilder himself will not generally be allowed to the historian as a venial error. Sometimes, however, and without far wandering from well-trodden paths, he may venture to search for some illustration of his subject in that utmost verge of history's horizon.

In all countries, and through all ages, RELIGION and Civil Government have been so connected, that no history can be given of either without reference to the other. But in the accounts remaining of the earliest times, the attention everywhere paid to religion, the deep interest taken in it, by individuals and by communities, by people polished equally and unpolished, is peculiarly striking. A sense of dependency on some superior Being seems indeed inseparable from man; it is in a manner instinct in him[1]. His own helplessness, compared with the stupendous powers of nature which he sees constantly exerted around him, makes the savage ever anxiously look for some being of a higher order on whom to rely: and the man educated to exercise the faculties of his mind, has only to reflect on himself, on his own abilities, his own weakness, his own knowlege, his own ignorance, his own happiness, his own misery, his own beginning, and his end, to be directed, not only to belief in some superior Being, but also to expectation of some future state, through meer conviction that nature hath given him both a great deal more and a great deal less than were necessary to fit him for this alone. Religion, therefore, can never be lost among mankind; but, through the imper-

[1] - - - Πάντες δὲ Θεῶν χατέουσ' ἄνθρωποι. Homer. Odyss. l. 3. v. 48.

fection of our nature, it is so prone to degenerate, that superstition in one state of society, and scepticism in another, may, perhaps not improperly, be called nature's works. The variety, indeed, and the grossness of the corruptions of religion, from which few pages in the annals of the world are pure, may well on first view excite our wonder. But, if we proceed to inquire after their origin, we find immediately such sources in the nature and condition of man, that evidently nothing under a constant miracle could prevent those effects to which the history of all countries in all ages bears testimony. The fears of ignorance, the interest of cunning, the pride of science, have been the mainsprings: every human passion has contributed its addition.

A firm belief, however, both in the existence of a Deity, and in the duty of communication with him, appears to have prevailed universally in the early ages[2]. But religion was then the common care of all men; a sacerdotal order was unknown: the patriarch, or head of the family, was chief in religious as in civil concerns: a preference to primogeniture seems always to have obtained[3]: the eldest son succeeded regularly to the right of sacrificing, to the right of being priest of the family. When younger sons became fathers of families, they also superintended the domestic religion, each of his own house-

Shuckford's Connexion of Sacred and Profane History, v. 2. b. 6. p. 89.

[2] Ἀρχαῖος μὲν οὖν τις λόγος καὶ πάτριός ἐστι, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ τὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ θεοῦ, συνέσηκεν· οὐδεμία δὲ φύσις αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν αὐτάρκης, ἐρημωθεῖσα τῆς ἐκ τούτου σωτηρίας.

Aristot. de Mundo, c. 6.

Παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πρῶτον νομίζεται τοὺς θεοὺς σέβειν.

Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 4. c. 4. s. 19.

[3] This it was, according to Homer, that gave Jupiter himself his right of supremacy over his brothers; and the Fates and Furies were the vindicators of that right:

Ὅσσ' ὡς πρεσβυτέρουσιν Ἐρινύες αἰὲν ἕποντο.

Iliad. l. 15. v. 204.

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hold, and performed the domestic sacrifices; the patriarch and his successors remaining chief priests of the tribe. This order of things passed, remarkably unvaried, to Egypt, to Greece, to Rome, and very generally over the world[4]. But, concomitant circumstances differing in different countries, consequences of course differed. In Asia, extensive empires seem almost to have grown as population extended. From earliest times the people were accustomed to look up to one family as presiding over national concerns, religious equally and political, by a hereditary right, partaking, in public opinion, of divine authority. Ideäs and habits were thus acquired, congenial to despotic government: and in all the violent revolutions which that large and rich portion of the earth has undergone, the notion of attachment to a particular family, as presiding by divine appointment over both the religious and civil polity of the nation, has prevailed, and prevails very extensively to this day. We have no certain account when or how the sacerdotal order of the magians arose. But it is a remarkable circumstance, of which we are informed by the most unsuspicious testimony, that by far the purest religion known among heathen nations, remained in those countries whence all migration has been supposed to have originated: with extent of wandering, savage ignorance grew.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 113.

We are not without information of peculiar causes which made Egypt the great school of superstition, while it was the seat of arts and knowlege. A prodigious population was there confined within a narrow territory; whose surrounding seas and deserts

[4] This subject is treated diffusively, with many references to the Scriptures and to heathen authors, in the sixth book of Shuckford's Connexion of Sacred and Profane History.

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prevented extension of dominion, and checked communication with strangers. A more refined polity than prevailed in Asia, and freer communication of rights, becoming indispensable, the powerful families shared with the monarch in the superintendancy of the national religion. The priesthood, thus, and the nobility of the nation, were one[5]; and, by a singular policy, professions and callings were made hereditary through all ranks of men; so that the business of every man's life was unalterably determined by his birth. Priestcraft thus, among the rest, became the inalienable inheritance of particular families; and learning was their exclusive property. Natural wonders, more frequent there than elsewhere, assisted in disposing the people to superstition[6]; while, with singular interest, to promote it, a sacerdotal nobility had singular means. Thus the superstition of Egypt, rising to an extravagance unknown in any other country, was also supported by a union of powers that never met elsewhere.

Diodor. Sic. l. 1. c. 28.

The circumstances of Greece differed very materially. Its inhabitants were long barbarous, often migrating, continually liable to expulsion, and without regular government. Among wandering savages, no ideä could hold of a divine right inherent in any family to direct either the religious or the civil concerns of others. But if the accounts of Grecian authors are to be believed, the rude natives always readily associated with any adventurers from the civilized countries of the East. It was not difficult for these to explain the advantages of a town, where the people might find safety for their persons when

[5] Diodorus compares the order of priests in Egypt to the order of nobles, the eupatrids, at Athens.

[6] Τέρατά τε πλέω ὅτι ἔυρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι. Herodot. l. 2.

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danger threatened their fields; and where, meeting occasionally to consult in common, they might provide means for ready exertion of united strength, to repel those evils to which the unconnected inhabitants of scattered villages were perpetually exposed. A man of knowlege and experience must preside in council, and direct the execution of what had been resolved in common. A town thus was built and fortified, a form of government settled, and an oriental, superintending, was honored with the title of king. Many of the principal Grecian cities, according to Grecian tradition, had their origin from a concurrence of circumstances like these. Constantly the king exercised supremacy in religious concerns; he was always chief priest[7]; and he always endevored to acquire the reputation of divine authority for all his establishments. But the government being notoriously formed by compact, no ideä of indefeisible right, inherent in a soverein family, could readily gain: the compact alone could be supposed or pretended to be divinely authorized. The person of the king had no privilege but by the gift of the people. His civil consequence, therefore, depended upon his abilities and conduct. His religious character was otherwise estimated: not the person or family, but the title and office, were held sacred. It is remarkable that Athenian and Roman superstition, without any connection between the people, should have agreed so exactly in the extraordinary circumstance, that after the abolition of royalty among both, and while the very name of king was abhorred as a title of civil magistracy or military command, yet equally the title and the office were

[7] See every sacrifice in the Iliad and Odyssee; particularly the minute detail of Nestor's sacrifice at Pylus. Odyss. b. 3. v. 404—463.

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scrupulously retained for the administration of religious ceremonies. It has been observed, that a priesthood was first established among the Jews when their government became a regular commonwealth. Such appropriation of religious functions, if the ministers are confined to their proper object, is perhaps not less advantageous to civil freedom than necessary to the maintenance of religion.

Shuckford's Connexion. Warburton's Div. Leg.

It was the opinion of Herodotus, that Homer and Hesiod principally settled the religious tenets of the Greeks; which before them were totally vague, floating about partially as they happened to arise, or to be imported by foreiners, particularly Egyptians: and indeed if ever there was any standard of Grecian orthodoxy, it must be looked for in the works of those two poets. But the very early inhabitants of Greece had a religion far less degenerated from original purity. To this curious and interesting fact, abundant testimonies remain. They occur in those poems, of uncertain origin and uncertain date, but unquestionably of great antiquity, which are called the poems of Orpheus, or rather the Orphic poems[8]; and they are found scattered among the writings of the philosophers and historians. All the Greek philosophers were aware of the recent origin of that religion which in their time was popular. Plato, among his doubts about the antient state of things, declares an opinion that, in the early ages, the sun, moon, stars, and earth, had been the only objects of religious worship in Greece, as they were, still in his time, he adds, in most of the barbarous nations. In another part of his works, we find recorded a different tradition of a very remarkable tenor. 'ONE GOD,'

Herodot. l. 2. c. 53.

Plat. Cratyl. p. 397. l. 1.

[8] Particularly in the Hymn to Jupiter, quoted by Aristotle in the seventh chapter of his Treatise on the World:

Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος, κ. τ. ε.

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Plat. Polit. p. 269. t. 2.

he says it was reported, 'once governed the uni-
'verse: but a great and extraordinary change tak-
'ing place in the nature of men and things, infinite-
'ly for the worse (for originally there was perfect vir-
'tue and perfect happiness upon earth) the command
'then devolved upon Jupiter, with many inferior
'deities, to preside over different departments under
'him.' Here, in the same tradition, we find the original unity of the Deity asserted, and an account attempted of the beginning of polytheism. Plato declares no opinion of his own upon it. Everything however remaining from him upon religion, and, I think it may be added, upon morality, involves the supposition of unity in the Deity; tho, warned apparently by the fate of his master Socrates, he shows himself extremely cautious of directly contradicting any contrary belief.

But the notion of a great and deplorable change in human nature and in the state of all things on earth, thus shortly mentioned by Plato, remains transmitted more at large by a much older author, sketching the history of mankind from its origin: 'The first
Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 109.
'race of men,' according to Hesiod, 'lived like
'gods, in perfect happiness; exempt from labor,
'from old age, and from all evil. The earth spon-
'taneously supplied them with fruits in the greatest
'abundance[9]. Dying at length without pain, they
'became happy and beneficent spirits, appointed by
'the divine wisdom to the royal function of super-
'intending the future race of men, watching their
'good and evil ways.' This, which he calls the golden age, or golden race, plainly forein to all Grecian history, bears an analogy to the Scripture ac-

[9] Plato says the first men σαρκῶν απεἰχοντο, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὂν ἐσθίειν, ἀνδὲ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν Βωμὰς αἱματι μιαίνειν. De Leg. l. 6. vid. & Dicæarch. ap. Porphyr.

count of the terrestrial paradise, and the state of man before the Fall, which is rendered still more striking by the remarkable consonance of his silver age to the Scripture account of the antediluvian world after the Fall. 'The second race of men,' he proceeds, 'were like those of the golden age, 'neither in nature nor in moral character. They 'scarcely reached manhood in a hundred years; yet 'not thus less subject to pain and folly, they died 'early. They were unceasing in violence and in-'justice toward one another, nor would they duly 'reverence the immortal gods. Jupiter therefore 'hid this race in his anger, because they honored 'not the blessed gods of heaven.' In speaking of the third race of men, which he calls the brazen race, the poet at length comes home to his own country, describing nearly that state of things which Plutarch has more particularly described in his life of Theseus. Ch. 1. s. 3. of this Hist.

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Aristotle, who lived in less apprehension of the intolerant tyranny of the Athenian democracy, declares his opinion upon the unity of the Deïty and the origin of polytheism, more explicitly than his master Plato, and in a manner that does honor to his strong understanding. 'It is a tradition,' he says, 'received from of old among all men, that GOD 'is the creätor and preserver of all things; and that 'nothing in nature is sufficient to its own existence, 'without his superintending protection. Hence some 'of the antients have held that all things are full of 'gods; obvious to sight, to hearing, and to all the 'senses; an opinion consonant enough to the power, 'but not to the nature of the Deïty.——GOD, being 'ONE, has thus received many names, according to 'the variety of effects of which he is the cause.' Aristot. de Mund. c. 6. Aristot. de Mund. c. 7.

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Such were the traditions of poets, and the opinions of philosophers. There remains yet for notice a testimony, not less remarkable or less important perhaps than any of these, which has been preserved inadvertently by a historian who did not intend us this, tho we owe to him much valuable information. Herodotus, after giving an account of the origin of the names of the principal Grecian divinities, proceeds to tell us, that, being at Dodona, he was there assured (apparently by the priests of the farfamed temple of Jupiter) that, antiently, the Pelasgian ancestors of the Grecian people sacrificed and prayed to gods to whom they gave no name or distinguishing appellation[10]; 'for,' he adds, 'they had never 'heard of any; but they called them gods, as the 'disposers and rulers of all things[11].' It is hence evident, that the Pelasgians can have acknowleged but one god; for, where many gods are believed, distinguishing appellations will and must be given; but the unity of the Deity precludes the necessity of names.

That purer religion, then, according to this unsuspicious testimony of Herodotus, was brought into Greece by its first inhabitants. It was occasionally nourished, and received accessions, not probably advantageous to its purity, from Thrace; but the absurdities of Grecian polytheism, as we are abundantly assured, were derived principally from

10 — ἐπωνυμίην οὐδ' οὔνομα. Herod. l. 2. c. 52.

11 Herodotus appears to have supposed the Greek name for God to have been derived from a Greek verb signifying to place or dispose: other Grecian authors have imagined other etymologies for it; but it seems rather probable that it had a more antient origin than any derivation within the Greek language.

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Egypt[12]. The colonists who passed from that polished country to savage Greece, would of course communicate their religious tenets[13]. The rude natives, according to all traditions, listened greedily to instruction on a subject in which they felt themselves deeply interested; and thought it an important improvement to be able to name many gods, whose stories were related to them, instead of sacrificing to one only, without a name, of whose will they were wholly uninformed, and of whose nature they had no satisfactory conception. Nor is the transition violent, for ignorant people, from a vague idea of one omnipresent deity, to the belief of a separate divine essence in different places, and in every different thing. On the contrary, the popular superstitions of almost all nations show it congenial to the human mind; which wants exercise of its powers to inable it to exalt thought to the conception of one Almighty and boundless Being. Polytheism, therefore, once disseminated, the lively imagination of the Greeks would not be confined within the limits of Egyptian instruction. Their country, with fewer objects of wonder, abounded with incentives to fancy, which Egypt wanted. Hence, beside Juno, Vesta, Themis, whom they added to the principal divinities derived from the marshy banks of the Nile, every Grecian mountain acquired its Oreäds, every wood its Dryads, every fountain its Naiad, the sea its Tritons and its Nereïds, and every river its god; the variety of the

Herodot. l. 2. c. 50.

Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 75.

[12] See Warburton's Divine Legation, Shuckford's Connexion of Sacred and Profane History, Bryant's Analysis of Antient Mythology, and Pownall on the Study of Antiquities; with the numerous authorities by them quoted.

[13] See on this subject, Herodotus, Plato, and Diodorus Siculus.

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seasons produced the Hours; and the Muses and the Graces were the genuine offspring of the genius of the people. Thus were divinities so multiplied before Homer's time, that nobody any longer undertook to say how many there were not.

And now the Grecian gods were changed from the One Almighty parent of good, not less in attributes than in number. Jupiter, the chief of them, was not omnipotent: omnipresence was not among his attributes; nor was he all-seeing; and as perfect goodness was nowhere to be found in Homer's heaven, so there was by no means perfect happiness there. The chief of the gods seems to have been supposed under both the control and the protection of Fate; he is described under apprehension from his inferior deïties; he was subject to various weaknesses; liable to be overcome by passion; and the goddess of mischief, Atë, was said to be his eldest daughter. Consistently with such an ideä we find the inferior deïties in general more disposed to disturb than assist the government of the chief; who is represented without the least confidence in their wisdom and right intentions, placing his whole dependance on his own strength only. Hence alone also is derived their reverence for him; not that he is wise and good, but that he is strong. Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, speaks of the soverein of the gods, calling him at the same time her father, in the reproachful and debasing terms of 'raging with an evil mind, 'in perpetual opposition to her inclinations.' The same goddess is represented advising Pandarus to endevor to bribe Apollo with the promise of a hecatomb, to assist him in assassinating Menelaüs contrary to the faith of a solemn treaty; and even Jupiter himself joins with that goddess and Juno in promoting so foul a murder, which was to involve with

Iliad. l. 13. v. 1. & seq.

Iliad. l. 15. v. 204. & l. 14. v. 443. et seq.

Il. 19. 91.

Iliad. l. 8. v. 5.

v. 210.

v. 361.

l. 4. v. 101.

it the basest treachery and the most offensive perjury. We cannot but wonder to find the goddess of wisdom and the soverein of the gods thus employed. Yet the belief that villany, so often seen triumphant, was frequently favored by some superior power, or however that the meer crime against the neighbor seldom or never offended the Deïty, appears by no means unnatural, and certainly has been extensively held[14]. It is worthy of remark, that a religion which acknowleges only one God, has not taught the Turks to reason more justly: 'Whatever the intention may 'have been,' says the elegant and judicious Busbequius, in the account of his embassy at the Ottoman Court, 'if the event is prosperous, they look upon 'God as authorizing the deed:' in proof of which he relates some remarkable occurrences in Turkish history, and a conversation which he held concerning them with a Turk of rank.

SECT. I.

De Legatione Turcica, epis. 4.

Thus imperfect as the chief of the Grecian heaven is represented, still that the Greeks derived their first notion of him from the power of a king of Crete, is an opinion as unauthorized by the oldest poets and historians as it is in itself improbable, not to say impossible. Homer's invocation to the Dodonæan Pelasgian Jupiter suffices indeed alone to refute the ideä. But that a king of Crete, like Alexander and the Cæsars in more inlightened ages, may have assumed, or may have been complimented with a title usually appropriated to the Deïty is sufficiently likely. Whence indeed the Greek name Zeus (which in the common form of invoca-

Iliad. l. 16. v. 233.

[14] See Odyss. l. 3. v. 273. & l. 16. v. 398. Aristoph. Plut. v. 28—38. Plat. de Rep. l. 2. p. 362. t. 2. & de Leg. l. 10. p. 905. et seq. but particularly Glaucon's long argument in favor of injustice, in the second book of Plato's Republic, which the philosopher with difficulty, and scarcely, refutes.

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tion gave the Latin Jupiter) was derived, is an inquiry that cannot end in certainty. Plato says it is a name not easy to be understood; and the fanciful explanation of it which he has undertaken to give, tho adopted by Aristotle, appears, like some other etymologies, utterly unworthy of the great names under whose authority it comes to us. It seems however fully consistent with the analogy of letters, as well as from many circumstances highly probable, that the Greek and Latin names for the Deïty, as they were variously inflected, Theos, or rather Theo, Deo, Dia, Zeu, Jove, and the Hebrew which we write Jehovah, tho in the oriental orthography it has only four letters, were originally one name[15].

Plat. Cratyl. p. 369. t. 1.

Aristot. de Mund. c. 7.

Ideäs concerning that Fate, which was supposed to decide the lot of gods equally as of men, could

[15] See Monde Primitif Analysé et Compare, par M. Court de Gebelin, vol. i. p. 166. & Recherches sur les Arts de la Gréce, vol. i. notes 96, 97, et 118. The Hebrew יהוה is, in a language of such near affinity as the Chaldee, very differently written, being יי. This, with the preposition יְ or לְ, expressing the possessive case, prefixed, approaches very nearly to the Greek Δἰι, and the Latin Dei, Dii, Divi. It is to be observed, that the modern Greeks pronounce Δ like the English TH, in THIS, THERE; and Υ, when it follows Α or Ε, as our V consonant. The antient Lacedæmonians, as we learn from the specimens of the Laconic dialect in the Lysistrata of Aristophanes, and in Xenophons's Grecian Annals, pronounced Σ for Θ, and if we might believe the abbé Fourmont's account of inscriptions found in Laconia, inserted in the 15th vol. of the Memoirs of the French Academy of Inscriptions, they wrote so. Concerning the analogy of letters, Sharpe on the Origin of Languages, and Pownall on the Study of Antiquities, may be advantageously consulted by those who have leisure and inclination for such inquiries.

Hel. l. 4. c. 4. s. 10.

It may perhaps be allowed me then here farther to observe that, as in the language, or at least in the orthography, of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, *God* and *Good* were one word, written with a single *o*, so it may seem likely, that in the Latin, the same word *Jus* may have been equally the name of the god *Jupiter*, and the term to signify *Right*; difference of inflexion being adopted for the oblique cases, for the convenience of distinction, and, for the same convenience, the usual addition to the vocative given to the nominative.

not but be very indeterminate. Fate was personified, sometimes as one, sometimes as three sister-beings. The three Furies, or avenging deïties, seem to have been sometimes considered as the same with the Fates, sometimes as attending powers. Either or both, for the superstition which occasioned a dread of naming them makes it difficult to distinguish, were often mentioned by the respectful title of the Venerable Goddesses[16]. They seem indeed to have been the only Grecian deïties who were supposed incapable of doing wrong. Of evil spirits, in the modern sense of the term, the Greeks appear to have had no ideä. But such was the acknowleged imperfection of the Grecian heaven, that Hesiod expressly declares it to have been the office of the Fates and Furies 'to punish the transgressions 'of MEN and GODS[17].' It seems to have been supposed the principal office of Jupiter to superintend the performance of the decrees of Fate; and for that purpose to keep a watchful eye over the ways of both mortals and immortals. Fate therefore being but a blind power, and Jupiter a very imperfect divinity, we shall the less wonder to find it mentioned by Homer as possible, which yet appears a strange inconsistency, that things contrary to fate may be done, not only by gods but even by men[18].

SECT. I.

Il. l. 2. v. 155. & l. 20. v. 30. & 336.

[16] Σέμναι θεαί, venerandæ deæ.

[17] —— ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε παραιθασίας ἐφέουσαι.
Theogon. v. 220.

[18] There is in the Prometheus of Æschylus a very curious passage concerning Necessity, the Fates, and the power of Jupiter, in which the poet remarkably avoids explaining what fate is: Prometheus and the Chorus speak:

Cho. Τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οἰακοστρόφος;
Prom. Μοῖραι τρίμορφοι, μνήμονες τ' Ἐρινύες.
Cho. Τούτων ἆρ' ὁ Ζεὺς ἐστιν ἀσθενέστερος;
Prom. Οὔκουν ἂν ἐκφύγοι γε τὴν πεπρωμένην.
Cho. Τί γὰρ πέπρωται Ζηνὶ πλὴν ἀεὶ κρατεῖν;

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The scheme of analysing the Deïty, and establishing a symbol for every attribute, to be a separate object of popular adoration, originating probably with the priestly nobility of Egypt, was certainly well adapted to their purpose of separating and setting themselves far above the other classes. The complicated veil, thus thrown over the original simple doctrine of religion, they reserved to themselves to withdraw, and, except for their own order it was never moved. But, among the early troubles of Egypt, some expelled nobles, finding settlements for themselves and their followers of the other classes, perhaps first in Asia Minor and Thrace, and afterward, as Danaüs and Cecrops, in Greece, to maintain their superiority in the new countries, it became necessary to look for associates, beyond the scanty number of antient Egyptian nobility who had emigrated with them. This seems the most probable origin of the Eleusinian and other mysteries; the initiation in which, as far as the very imperfect lights

Prom. Τοῦτ' οὐκ ἂν οὖν φύοιο, μηδὲ λιτάρει.
Prometh. Vinct. p. 34. ed. H. Steph.

Herodotus relates a response of the Delphian oracle, declaring the subjection of the gods to the power of Fate: Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοίραν ἀδύνατά σε ἀποφυγέειν καὶ Θεῶ. l. 1. c. 91. This is the more remarkable for being given as an apology for the oracle, whenever it had the misfortune to make a mistake or tell a falsehood. The god of science being thus fallible, we shall not wonder if the wisdom of the goddess of art was also imperfect. Notwithstanding the veneration of the Athenians for the tutelary deïty of their state, Æschylus, in his tragedy named from the Furies, has not scrupled to make Minerva, while she respects those horrible goddesses as her superiors in age, acknowlege that they were also very much her superiors in wisdom:

Ὀργὰς ξυνοίσω σῳ· γεραιτέρα γὰρ εἶ·
Καίτοι γεμὴν κάρτ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα.
Æschyl. Eumenid. p. 302. ed. H. Steph.

Farther, however, than to illustrate and justify Homer, the tenets of the age of Æschylus and Herodotus will rather be for future consideration.

remaining will enable us to form conjecture, appears to have consisted, for its most important part, in revealing to the initiated the antient simple religion, and especially the unity of the Deity. SECT. I.

Idolatry, as far as appears from Homer, was in his time unknown in Greece; and even temples were not common, tho those of Minerva at Athens, Apollo at Delphi, and Neptune at Ægæ, seem to have been of some standing. Sacrifices were performed, as by the Jewish patriarchs, on altars raised in open air: and prayers were addressed, tho to many, yet to deities beyond the search of human eyes. We find Nestor sacrificing to Neptune on the sea-shore[19]; to Minerva before the portico of his palace; and the terms in which Homer mentions the fanes of Apollo at Delphi and Minerva at Athens, mark them to have been roofless. A temple of Cybele, without a roof, remained, to the time of Pausanias, in Arcadia, near the source of the Alpheius. The antient Egyptian temples, made known from late observation, we find had spaces inclosed with columns, without roof, and the form of the first Grecian temples did not probably originate in Greece, but were imported from Egypt or Syria. Our venerable antiquity of Stonehenge appears to have been a temple of the rudest workmanship indeed, but of the same kind; and the sort of resemblance which the pillars found in the distant iland of Tinian, in the Pacific Ocean, bear both to Stonehenge, and to the columns of the oldest Grecian temples, a kind of midway form, between the extreme rudeness of the former and the

Iliad. l. 2. v. 549. & l. 9. v. 404. & Odyssee, l. 8. v. 79.

Iliad. l. 13. v. 21.

Odyss. l. 3. v. 5. & 406.

l. 8. c. 44. p. 691.

[19] Strabo says there was afterward a temple of Neptune at or near the place (1); but Homer mentions nothing of it.

(1) Strab. l. 8. p. 344.

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finished elegance of the latter, may deserve observation[20].

Nor is there found in Homer any mention of hero-worship, or divine honors paid to men deceased, which became afterward so common[21]. Indeed tho invocations were occasionally addressed to numberless divinities, yet the great objects of worship and sacrifice seem to have been only Jupiter, Neptune, Apollo, and Minerva; all, together with Fate itself, as Aristotle positively assures us, originally but different names for the ONE GOD, considered with respect to different powers, functions, or attributes; as the divine wisdom, the god of light and life, the

[20] The very remarkable antiquity in Tinian is described, and represented in an ingraving, in Anson's voyage; and I have in my possession a drawing of it made on the spot by the purser of the Gloucester, whose crew was, on the destruction of that ship, taken aboard the Centurion. The purser, whose name was Melichamp, had some skill in painting, and his drawing of the columns in Tinian, and the view in Anson's voyage, being taken from different points, and with different accompaniments, vouch each for the truth of the other.

This manner of temple it seems is yet preserved in the interior of Africa. 'The Bushreens' (Mahometan negroes between the Senegal and the Gambia) 'have for their missura' (thus the writer has proposed to mark their pronuntiation of the Arabic word which we call mosk) 'a square piece of ground 'levelled and surrounded with trunks of trees. Mosks of this 'kind are very common, but having neither walls nor roof, are 'fit only for fine weather.' Park's Travels in Africa, p. 252. ed. 4to. 1799.

[21] The terms Ἡμίθεος and Θεῖον γένος used by Hesiod (1), seem but titles of compliment to his heroes, analogous to Διΐος, so common with Homer, or the phrase, That the people revered their leaders as gods. All perhaps may show a tendency to a worship not in their time practised, and might even help to lead to it; as might also more particularly Hesiod's doctrine, whencesoever derived, of the charge committed to the exalted spirits of the men of the golden age over the future race of mankind (2).

(1) Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 158, 159. (2) Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 120.

creator and ruler of all things[22]. Grecian religion, therefore, being raised without system on a foundation of mistake, incongruities were natural to it. SECT. I.

The sum of the duty of men to the gods consisted, according to Homer, in sacrifice only. That due honor was paid him by offerings on his altars, is the reason given by Jupiter for his affection for the Trojans, and particularly for Hector. Songs to the gods, we are told, were also grateful to them; ablution was often a necessary ceremony before sacrifice or libation; but without sacrifice nothing was effectual. Sacrifices, promised or performed, are alone urged in prayer to promote the granting of the petition, and the omission of sacrifices due was supposed surely to excite divine resentment. Here and there only, as stars glittering for a moment through small bright openings in a stormy sky, we find some spark of morality connected with Homer's religion. Minerva recommends Ulysses to the favor of the gods for being a good and just king; and those who give unjust judgements are threatened with divine vengeance. Perjury, however, as the crime most particularly affronting to themselves, was what they were supposed most particularly disposed to revenge[23]. 'Jupiter,' we are told, 'will not favor the 'false;' and in another place, 'The blessed gods 'love not evil deeds; but they honor justice, and 'the righteous works of men;' after which follows

Iliad. l. 4. v. 49. & l. 24. v. 70.
Iliad. l. 1. v. 474.
Iliad. l. 6. v. 267.
Iliad. l. 9. v. 529. & al.
Iliad. l. 4. v. 473. & al.
Iliad. l. 5. v. 178.
Odyss. l. 5. v. 7.
Iliad. l. 16. v. 386.
Iliad. l. 4. v. 235.
Odyss. l. 14. v. 38.

[22] Εἷς δὶ ὢν, πολυώνυμος ἐξὶ κ. τ. ε. Aristot. de Mundo. c. 7. or, according to Æschylus (1),

Πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία.

Mr. Bryant, in his Analysis of Antient Mythology, has collected testimony to the point from various heathen authors.

[23] Ὅρκον δ' ὃς δὴ πλεῖστον ἐπιχθονίοις ἀνθρώποις
Πῆμα ἵνεν, ὅτε κέν τις ἑκὼν ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ.
Hesiod. Theogon. v. 231.

(1) Prometh. v. 203.

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a remarkable passage: 'Even when the hardened 'and unrighteous invade the lands of others, tho 'Jupiter grant them the spoil, and, loading their 'ships, they arrive every one at his home, still the 'strong fear of vengeance dwells on their minds[24].' The whole of this speech in the Odyssee forms a striking picture of that anxious uncertainty concerning the ways of God, his favor to men, and their duty to him, which considerate but uninformed persons could scarcely be without. Hesiod, who had evidently communicated much less extensively among mankind than Homer, takes upon him with honest zeal to denounce more particularly the vengeance of the Deïty against those who wrong their neighbors. He threatens even whole states with famine and pestilence, the destruction of their armies, the wreck of their fleets, and all sorts of misfortunes, for the unpunished injustice of individuals. At the same time he indiscreetly promises peace and plenty, and all temporal rewards from the favor of the gods to the upright: concluding, however, with some remarks not less worthy the philosopher than the poet, which are the foundation of that beautiful and well-known allegory the Choice of Hercules, and which have been variously repeated in all the languages of Europe[25].

Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 211. —290.

[24] In translating quotations from Greek authors, I prefer the risk of some uncouthness of phrase to those wide deviations from the original expression for which French criticism allows large indulgence. Even poetry I have always endevored to render, as nearly as possible, word for word. Our language is certainly more favorable for this purpose than the French. But Pope's translation, itself an admirable poem, will seldom answer the end of those who desire to know with any precision what Homer has said.

[25] The deficiency of Homer's religious and moral system remained to a late age in Greece. A very remarkable passage in the second book of Plato's Republic (p. 364. t. 2.) shows how little in his time a virtuous and blameless life was suppos-

SECT. I.

Among the Greeks afterward, of the most polished ages, the belief was evidently popular, that their early forefathers, on momentous occasions, made human sacrifices; and yet neither Homer nor Hesiod warrant it. But the sacrifice of Iphigenia, unnoticed by those poets of remotest antiquity, is mentioned by the next known, tho with wide interval, after them, Pindar and Æschylus. After these again, the philosophic Euripides, the friend of Socrates, took a story of the sacrifice of a daughter of Erechtheus, king of Athens, for the subject of a tragedy, which we find an eminent orator of the next age, the age of Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes, recommending to the admiration of the Athenian people. Nor was this work, of which but a small fragment has been preserved, the only one in which that poet showed his favor to the kind of subject, and his opinion of its popularity; for in his tragedy of Hecuba, which fortunately remains to us, the lovely Polyxena, daughter of the unfortunate queen, is devoted to sacrifice. How the notion should have arisen, and gained popular credit between the ages of Homer and Pindar, seems difficult to conjecture, and the more so as the human sacrifices, celebrated by the most eminent poets, are attributed to the times of which Homer treated, or times even before them.

Ch. 1. s. 4. of this Hist.

Pindar. Pyth. 2. Æschyl. Agamem. p. 220. ed. H. Steph.

Lycur. con. Leocrat. p. 203. t. 4. Or. Gr. Reiske.

The different functions of the gods, and the different and often opposite parts which they were supposed to take in human affairs, were a plentiful

ed a recommendation to divine favor, and how much more importance was attributed to sacrifice and the observation of ceremonies. In a still much later age, Lucian found the discordance of Grecian religion with all morality, a very just subject for satire, and he has ridiculed it with as much reason as wit: Ἐγὼ γάρ, ἄχρι μὲν ἦν, παῖσιν' ἦν, δίκαιον Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου πολέμους καὶ μάσεις διηγουμένων, κ. τ. λ. Necyomant. See also Plutarch's Life of Pericles, toward the end.

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source of superstitious rites, as well as of advantages to those who, in consequence either of office or their own pretensions, were supposed to have more immediate communication with any deïty. 'Tell me 'which of the immortals hinders me!' the anxious question of Menelaüs to the daughter of Proteus, must have occurred often as a most perplexing doubt in disappointment and calamity. Without information which of the gods was adverse, the expence of propitiatory hecatombs was vain; for the number of Grecian divinities was, in Homer's time, far beyond the bounds of calculation, as we may learn from the address of Ulysses to the unknown deïty of a river; and when afterward the number of worshipped gods was prodigiously increased, those unnamed and unknown were not the less innumerable.

Odyss. l. 4. v. 380.

Odyss. l. 5. v. 445.

The opinion was general that the gods often visited the earth, sometimes in visible shape, and that they interfered in human concerns upon all occasions. Numberless passages in various authors prove that this belief continued long popular. Throughout Homer's poems the splendid actions of men always, and sometimes those of little consequence, are attributed to the immediate influence of some deïty. Thus Ulysses says, not 'If I shall 'overcome the proud suitors,' but 'If God, through 'me, shall overcome the proud suitors.' These opinions could not but have powerful effects. They were sometimes an incentive to bravery, sometimes an excuse for cowardice; often they decided the fate of a battle. In the sixth book of the Iliad, the Trojans are described yielding before the Greeks; but, incouraged by Hector, they stand and renew the ingagement. This turn, the cause of which was not immediately apparent, excited in the Greeks a sudden fancy that some divinity was descended from

Odyss. l. 3. v. 420. & l. 17. v. 484. l. 7. v. 201. & mult. al. loc. Iliad. & Odyss.

Iliad. l. 23. v. 863. & 872.

Odyss. l. 19. v. 488.

Iliad. l. 6. v. 108.

heaven to assist their enemies, who in consequence recovered the advantage. We might suppose, from the liveliness of the poet's description, that he had been eyewitness to some such circumstance. SECT. I.

It is so easy, in times of general ignorance, for men of some cunning to find means of cheating the more thoughtless into an extravagant opinion of their abilities, and mankind is, through the uncertain foresight of reason, so interested in future events, that no country has been without its soothsayers. Those fixed oracles, afterward so important in Grecian politics, had apparently not, so early as the Trojan war, any very extensive celebrity. The prophetical groves of the Pelasgian Jupiter at Dodona were indeed not without fame; but they were too inconveniently situated, beyond vast ridges of mountains, in a remote corner of the country, for the Greeks in general to have means of consulting them. Delphi, mentioned both in the Iliad and Odyssee by the name of Pytho, a name which continued long to be applied to the temple and sacred precinct, must also have had reputation for its prophetical powers, which alone apparently could procure it those riches for which it was already remarkable; and indeed Agamemnon is said to have consulted it before he undertook the expedition against Troy. But it was less usual, at great trouble and expence, to consult a distant oracle, while the belief was yet popular that individuals were everywhere to be found so inspired by the deïty as to have the power of foretelling events, without depending upon any particular temple or sacred place as a peculiar residence of the god. Views of interest, as we learn from Homer, often induced men of abilities and experience reälly superior, to pretend to such divine intercourse. Calchas, the great seer of the Grecian army before Troy, who is said

Odyss. l. 14. v. 327. & l. 19. v. 296. Iliad. l. 9. v. 404. Odyss. l. 8. v. 79. Xen. Apol. Socr. s. 12. Strabo, l. 9. p. 417. & 420. Odyss. l. 8. v. 75.

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to have known things past, present, and future, was also the chief pilot of the fleet; and the poet attributes his knowlege, even as a pilot, not to his experience, but to the immediate inspiration of Apollo. Augury, or the pretended science of divination by observation of various circumstances of nature, highly respected in the most polished ages of Greece, was already in some repute. It appears however doubtful in what estimation Homer himself held it. He makes Hector, the most pious and the most amiable of his heroes, speak of it with contempt[26]: yet in the end he makes the same Hector acknowlege the superior wisdom of Polydamas, who confided in augury.

Iliad. l. 1. v. 71.

Iliad. l. 22. v. 99.

The human soul was generally believed immortal; but it is a gloomy, discontented, nugatory immortality that Homer assigns even to his greatest characters[27]. The Celtic bards and Teutonic scalds far otherwise inspired contempt of danger and ambition to die in battle. The difference had been observed in Lucan's time, and forcibly struck the lively imagination of that poet[28]. Yet the drunken paradise of the Scandinavian Oden, the Woden of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, often mistakenly considered as ori-

[26] Where he utters that noble sentiment of patriotic heroïsm: Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.—Iliad. l. 12. v. 243.

[27] Hence those lines in Virgil's invocation to Augustus:

——— Nam te nec sperent Tartara regem,
Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido:
Quamvis Elysios miretur Græcia campos,
Nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem.
Georg. 1. 39.

[28] Et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum, Druidæ, positis repetistis ab armis.
Solis nosse deos & cœli numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum. Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis auctoribus umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt: reget idem spiritus artus

ginating in a grossness of manners and ideäs peculiar to the Teutonic hords, was reälly a notion, as we learn from Plato, of the highest antiquity among the Greeks. If it was known to Homer, his taste indeed rejected it, but his judgement was unable to clear away the various other absurdities of popular belief, or to put forward any rational system. Some ideä of reward and punishment in a future life prevailed in his age; but it was impossible that it should be regulated by any just criterion of moral good and evil, where morality had so little connection with religion, and where every vice found favor with the gods. As Hesiod's morality is more pure, so his notions of a future state are less melancholy than those of Homer.

SECTION II.

Of the Government and Jurisprudence of the early Greeks.

In painting the religion, government, manners, arts, and knowlege of the age of Agamemnon, Homer seems to give precisely those of his own time. He nowhere marks any difference, and there appears no good reason for supposing that any considerable difference was known to him, if indeed any existed. As a poet, he magnifies the strength of men of old; but without at all attributing, like many modern writers, the decay of strength to any change of man-

Orbe alio: longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est. Certe populos quos despicit Arctos
Felices errore suo, quos ille, timorum
Maximus, haud urget leti metus! Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, & ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.
Lucan. Pharsal. l. 1.

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ners; and we find explained by Hesiod, what in Homer is only implied, that, as the heroes of his poems were mostly sons or grandsons of gods or goddesses, it was consonant to the nature of things that they should be indowed with very superior abilities to the men of his own days, who were some generations farther removed from such lofty origin[29].

As late then as Homer's own time, the Greeks had not arrogated to themselves any superiority of national character above the people of the surrounding countries; and in fact they seem not yet to have excelled their neighbors in any circumstance of science, art or civilization. The term Barbarian was not yet in use: they had not a name even for themselves collectively; and they scarcely seem to have considered themselves as unitedly forming a distinct nation; a Peloponnesian esteeming a Thessalian, as such, little more his fellowcountryman than a native of Phenicia or Egypt. The connection between the inhabitants of the several states, which appears alone to have had any great weight, was consanguinity. For this the Greeks retained long such a regard as greatly to influence their politics. It was indeed natural that, while the tenure of cities and countries was so very precarious, the opinion of being descended from the same common ancestors should bind men more strongly together than the meer circumstance of possessing territories bounded

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 3.

[29] Αὗται θνητοῖσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν ξυνηβείσαι
Ἀθάναται γείναντο θεοῖς ἐπιείκελα τέκνα.
Hes. Theogon. v. 1019.

And to the same purpose a quotation in the third book of Plato's Republic (1).

Οὕτω σφιν ἐξίστηλον αἷμα δαιμόνων.

(1) Vol. 2. p. 291.

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by the same mountains or the same seas. There was hardly a leader in the Trojan war, who was not connected by blood with many others. This would not a little facilitate the forming of so extensive a league; and the league itself might contribute to strengthen the connection. But any tradition, however uncertain, or after whatsoever interval revived, of derivation from the same forefathers, had, to a late period, remarkable influence among the Grecian people.

Yet we find in Homer no trace of the divisions of the Greek nation into Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian, which became afterward of so great consideration. The whole country was under the dominion of those kindred chieftians; every town of any consequence having its own prince; and the subjects were a mixed people, strangers being everywhere admitted to municipal rights with little reserve. But the antient Grecian princes were not absolute, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus remarks, like the Asiatic monarchs; their power was limited by laws and established customs. This observation, supported by the higher authority of Thucydides[90], is not only confirmed, but explained in some detail, by the still superior testimony of Homer. The poet himself appears a warm friend to monarchal rule, and takes every opportunity zealously to inculcate loyalty. It is a common expression with him, that 'the people 'revered their leaders as gods;' and he attributes to kings a degree of divine right to respect and authority: 'The honor of the king,' says Ulysses in the Iliad, 'is from Jupiter, and the allwise Jupiter 'loves him;' and again, 'The government of many 'is bad: let there be one chief, one king.' It is

Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 5.

Iliad. l. 2. v. 197.

[90] Ἦσαν δὲ αἰεὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι.
Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13.

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Iliad. l. 2. v. 204.

however sufficiently evident that the poet means here to speak of executive government only: 'Let 'there be one chief, one king,' he says, but he adds, 'to whom Jupiter hath intrusted the scepter and the 'laws, THAT BY THEM HE MAY GOVERN.' Accordingly, in every Grecian government which he has occasion to inlarge upon, he plainly discovers to us strong principles of republican rule. Not only the council of principal men, but the assembly of the people also is familiar to him. The name AGORA, signifying a place of meeting, and the verb formed from it, to express haranguing in assemblies of the people, were already in common use; and to be a good public speaker was esteemed among the highest qualifications a man could possess. In the government of Phæacia, as described in the Odyssee, the mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, is not less clearly marked than in the British constitution. One chief, twelve peers (all honored like the chief with that title which we translate King) and the assembly of the people, shared the supreme authority[81]. The universal and undoubted prerogatives of kings were religious supremacy, and mili-

Odyss. l. 7. v. 186. & l. 8. v. 387. Il. 2. v. 26. & l. 24. v. 419. Iliad. l. 9. v. 441. & 443. & Odyss. l. 8. v. 170.

Odyss. l. 8. v. 385.

[81] Κέκλυτε Φαιήκων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες.

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Δώδεκα γὰρ κατὰ δῆμον ἀριπρεπέες βασιλῆες
Ἄρχοι κραίνουσι, τριςκαιδέκατος δ' ἐγὼ αὐτός.

Odyss. l. 8. v. 387.

This phrase would seem to describe an oligarchal or aristocratical rather than a monarchal government, but that the superior authority of the monarch is marked in other passages. The titles both βασιλεὺς and ἄναξ were antiently given to any powerful men, without accurate distinction. The former became afterward strictly appropriated as our title King now is, but the latter continued long to be more loosely applied; as may be seen in the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles, v. 85, 312, 643, & 930. Isocrates uses βασιλεὺς as exactly synonymous with king, and ἄναξ as exactly synonymous with prince, calling the king's sons ἀνακτες, and his daughters ἀνάσσας. Evag. encom. p. 318. t. 2. ed. Augur.

tary command. They exercised also judicial power[32]. But in all civil concerns their authority appears very limited. Everything indeed that remains concerning government, in the oldest Grecian poets and historians, tends to demonstrate that the general spirit of it among the early Greeks was nearly the same as among our Teutonic ancestors. The ordinary business of the community was directed by the chiefs. Concerning extraordinary matters, and more essential interests, the multitude claimed a right to be consulted, and it was commonly found expedient to consult them.

Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 11.

Thus much we learn with certainty of the principles of government in Homer's age: and we are not less informed that the application of them was very generally irregular and inefficacious. The whole tenor of the Odyssee shows on how weak a foundation all political institutions rested. It appears to have been universally understood that monarchies were in some degree hereditary; and the right of primogeniture was strongly favored by popular opinion. Yet Homer, advocate as he is for monarchy, seems plainly to admit a right in the people to interfere and direct the succession. Telemachus was to succeed unquestionably to his father's estate; but the succession to the throne was legally open to competition: there was always room for the pretensions of the worthiest; which was but another name for the most powerful. It has been said to have been Homer's intention, after having, in the Iliad, set bodily abilities in the most brilliant light, to show, in the Odyssee, the preëminence of mental powers. Yet such was the state of things in his

Odyss. l. 1. v. 386. & 401.

[32] Κύριοι δὲ ἦσαν (οἱ βασιλεῖς) τῆς τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγεμονίας, καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαὶ, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰς δίκας ἔκρινον Aristot. Polit. l. 3. c. 14. See also Thucydides, b. 50. c. 13.

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age, that, to give mental powers any efficacy, he has been obliged to add a high degree, indeed a general superiority, of bodily strength and bodily accomplishments. Hence even the most renowned princes were reduced, in the decrepitude of years, to resign the powers of royalty, and esteem themselves fortunate if they could retain the honors. The government of the ilands over which Laërtes, and after him his son Ulysses, reigned, was, if we may judge from Homer, at least as well regulated as any of Greece; and those princes are represented equally beloved and respected by the people. Yet in the absence of the son, in the vigor of manhood, the venerable character of the father was utterly unable to preserve its due authority. 'Tell me,' says the shade of Achilles to Ulysses in the Elysian fields, 'do the Myrmidons yet honor the illustrious Peleus? 'Or is he set at nought since age hath enfeebled his 'limbs; and I no longer his assistant exist under 'the light of the sun, such as in the fields of Troy 'I dealt death to the bravest while I fought for the 'Greeks? If such I could return but for a moment 'to my father's house, those should dread my 'strength and my invincible arm, who violate his 'rights, or obtrude upon his honors.'

See particularly Odyss. l. 8. v. 158.—234.

Odyss. l. 11. v. 493.

It appears, nevertheless, that government and the administration of justice had acquired considerable strength and steddiness, through Peloponnesus at least, since the age of Hercules and Theseus. The political state of that country, in the times which Homer describes, very much resembled that of the kingdoms of western Europe in the feudal ages. The chiefs, whom we call kings, were as the barons who exercised royal rights within their own territories; all acknowleging the head of the Pelopid family as lord paramount. As the kings of Argos

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were able men, the consequence of this subordination, however, checked for a time by the usurpation of Ægistheus, could not but be favorable to the administration of justice, and the well-being of the Peloponnesian people.

We find in Homer no mention of a republic, nor is there reported by any other author any tradition that, so early as his age, a government existed in Greece, in which a single person did not preside with the title of king, and with the prerogatives already mentioned as inherent in royalty. Yet, within no long period after him, monarchal rule was almost universally abolished, even the title of King nearly lost, and the term Tyrant substituted for it. This would appear a change not easy to account for, had not Homer himself shown that strong tinge of republican principles in the constitution of the little states of Greece, even while princes of acknowleged right were at the head of them. There is in the Odyssee a pointed expression to this purpose, which may deserve notice: Ulysses, addressing himself as a suppliant to the queen of a strange country, on the coast of which he had saved himself from shipwreck, says, 'May the gods grant you 'and your guests to live happily; and may you all 'transmit to your children your possessions in your 'houses, and whatsoever HONORS THE PEOPLE HATH 'GIVEN YOU[38].'

While laws were yet unwritten they could be but few and simple; and judicial proceedings, founded upon them, little directed by any just or settled principles for the investigation of right and wrong. 'The people were assembled in the market place, 'when a dispute arose between two men concern-

[38] - - - - Γέρας δ' ὅ, τι Δῆμος ἔδωκεν. Odyss. l. 7. v. 150.

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'ing the payment of a fine for manslaughter[84]. One 'of them, addressing the bystanders, asserted that 'he had paid the whole; the other insisted that he 'had received nothing: both were earnest to bring 'the dispute to a judicial determination. The peo- 'ple grew noisy in favor some of the one, some of 'the other: but the heralds interfering inforced si- 'lence; and the elders approaching, with scepters 'of heralds in their hands, seated themselves on the 'polished marble benches in the sacred circle. Be- 'fore them the litigants, earnestly stepping forward, 'pleaded by turns; while two talents of gold lay in 'the midst, to be awarded to him who should sup- 'port his cause by the fairest arguments and the 'clearest testimony[85].' Such is Homer's account of

Iliad. l. 18. v. 497. —508.

[84] Ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου, which might be either manslaughter, or the very different crime, tho similar act, of murder: for Grecian law was yet little nice in distinctions.

[85] In revising this translation, some years after it was first made, I found I had unawares differed from the scholiast and from all the most received versions. But I learnt from Pope's note upon the passage, that the common interpretation, which he has followed, is not undisputed; and his reason given for preferring it I scarcely comprehend. A public reward proposed either for the cunningest pleader, or the cunningest judge, on the decision of every cause, seems nearly an equal absurdity; nor does it appear to me that, consistently with common sense, the two talents of gold can be considered otherwise than as the amount of the fine itself, the very object in litigation. The words of the original perfectly bear that interpretation. My version of the preceding line,

Τοῖσιν ἔπειτ' ἠϊσσον, ἀμοιβηδὶς δ' ἐδίκαζον,

I submit with more doubt to the learned in the language. The spirit of the passage makes me wish that it could be supported, tho I cannot undertake myself intirely to defend it.

Pope, in his translation of this passage, and it is but common justice to Homer to mention it, has taken a very unwarrantable liberty; describing the judges in terms of ridicule, when the original authorizes no ideä but of dignity. If Pope's passion for satire had not been irresistible, the respect due to his patron lord Harcourt, whom it appears he consulted upon the passage, should have guarded him against joking so much out of season.

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a court of justice, and a lawsuit. The defendant first endevored to ingage in his favor the people assembled occasionally about their ordinary business. The plausibility of his story, and probably some personal interest besides, for the amount of the fine proves the litigants to have been men of some consequence, procured him immediately a party; but not such as to prevent his opponent also from finding strong support. The voices of the people, therefore, not being likely to determine the business, it was agreed to refer it to the council of elders, who assembled instantly, and decided summarily. It is observable that in this business no mention is made of a king; and again in another passage of Homer, where the vengeance of Jupiter is denounced against those who give unjust judgements, it is not the tribunal of kings that is spoken of, but the assembly of the people[86].

What remains from Hesiod concerning the administration of justice, also merits notice. A lawsuit with his brother, in consequence of which he remained deprived of part of his patrimony, has given occasion to much of his poem intitled Of Works and Days. The word which we translate King, is there only found in the plural, and appears never intended to signify a monarch, but only magistrates or nobles, such as the twelve of Phæacia, or the elders bearing scepters of heralds in the sacred circle. Against those powerful men, whatever they were, who under that title, in his country of Bœotia, held the administration of justice, the poet inveys severely: his epithet for them, which he frequently repeats, is 'bribe-devouring kings.' In his Theogony we find a more pleasing picture: 'The chief of the Muses,'

Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 37. & seq. & 236 & seq.

[86] Ἄνδρες εἰν' ἀγορῇ. Iliad. l. 16. v. 386, 387.

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Hesiod. Theogon. v. 96.

he there says, 'attends upon Kings. That King 'whom the Muses honor, and on whose birth they 'have looked propitious, on his tongue they pour 'sweet dew. From his mouth words flow persua- 'sive. All the people look up to him while, point- 'ing out the law, he decides in righteous judgement. 'Firm in his eloquence, with deep penetration, he 'quickly determines even a violent controversy. For 'this is the office of wisdom in kings; to repress 'outrage and injustice, administering equal right to all 'in the general assembly, and easily appeasing irri- 'tated minds with soothing words. When such a 'king walks through the city, eminent among the 'assembled people, he is courted as a god, with af- 'fectionate reverence. Such is the sacred gift of 'the Muses to men: for poets and musicians are 'from Apollo and the Muses; but kings are from 'Jupiter himself.' It is remarkable that no legal power is here ascribed to the people; and yet, but for the mention of the title of king, we might imagine the description to be of a demagogue in some of the subsequent democracies. The whole passage forms a striking picture of those middle times, between the barbarism when Orpheus governed brutes by song, or Amphion built city-walls with his lyre, and the meridian glory of eloquence and philosophy, which ought to have produced a political quiet, unfortunately never found in Greece.

SECTION III.

Science, Arts, and Commerce, among the early Greeks. Letters: Language: Poetry: Music. Husbandry: Traffic. Masonry. Manufactures: Commerce. Art of War. Navigation. Astronomy. Physic.

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We have already observed, as a remarkable circumstance in Grecian history, that its oldest traditionary memorials relate, not to war and conquest, generally the only materials of the annals of barbarous ages, but to the invention or introduction of institutions the most indispensable to political society, and of arts even the most necessary to human life. In no country whose history begins at a later period, do we find the faintest tradition, even a fable, concerning the first institution of marriage: in Greece it was attributed to Cecrops. In Greece, tradition mentions the original production of the olive, the first culture of the vine, and even the first sowing of corn. The first use of mills for grinding corn is also recorded. The knowlege of the cultivation and use of the olive, of the preparation of a lasting food from milk by converting it into cheese, and of the domestication of bees for their honey and wax, was said to have been brought from the banks of the river Triton in Africa by Aristæus: and so important was the information to the wild tribes of hunters who first occupied Greece, that Aristæus had the fame of being the son of Apollo, the god of science; the herdmen and rustic nymphs, among whom he had been educated, were raised in ideä to beings above human condition, and he was reported to be himself immortal. The goddess of art, Minerva, according to the oldest Athenian author from whom anything remains to us, tho reputed the pe-

Justin. l. 2. c. 6. Plat. de Leg. l. 6. p. 782. Pausan. l. 3. c. 20.

Diod. Sic. l. 4. c. 83. Pindar. Pyth. 9.

Æschyl. Eumen.

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culiar patroness of Athens, was born in the same part of Africa whence Aristæus came. Music, poetry, several musical instruments, many sorts of versification, have moreover their inventors named in Grecian tradition. Not to expatiate in the wide field thus opened for inquiry and remark, one inference it may not be alien from the office of history to suggest. Opinions heretofore held by learned men concerning the age of the world, chiefly derived from the Hebrew Scriptures, have lately been treated by some fashionable writers with a degree of ridicule. Whether anything in those Scriptures can authorize any calculation of the years which have passed since the matter which composes our globe has taken nearly its present form, appears at least dubious[37]. But if, neglecting the arrogant and exploded absurdity of Egyptian vanity, we form a judgement from the modest and undesigning traditions of early Greece, from the tenor of the oldest poets, from the researches of Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, even Diodorus Siculus, and in general of the most inquisitive and judicious Grecian prose-writers concerning the early state of nations, all concur, and the latest and best accounts even of Chinese litterature go with them[38], strongly to indicate that the centuries since the Flood, or since mankind has existed in its present state, are not likely to have been many more than Sir Isaac Newton has supposed; and all remarkably accord with the Hebrew authors.

We might however perhaps judge with more rational confidence on this subject, if we knew more of the beginning of that art to which we are indebt-

[37] See Pownall's Treatise on the Study of Antiquities.

[38] See Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, c. 26. with the notes 22, 23, 24, 25, and the authorities there quoted.

ed for all our acquaintance with antiquity. But the investigation of the origin of LETTERS was in vain attempted by the most learned of the antients, who possessed means not remaining to us. Yet the pursuit has been revived, and anxiously urged among the moderns; two of whom, in our own country, men of singular learning, unable by the most extensive and exact researches to ascertain either how or where alphabetical writing was invented, have yet deserved highly of the litterary world by showing how and where it might have been invented. For, the art itself being so simple and familiar, yet the means of discovering it so extremely difficult to imagine, while its utility is so beyond all estimation, some learned men, at a loss to conceive its invention by human powers, have supposed it an immediate communication from the Deïty. But since bishop Warburton, and the lord of session Monboddo, have shown the possibility, and even probability, that we owe alphabetical writing to the genius of Egypt, governor Pownall has gone farther, and seems to have shown, in some degree, the process of the invention from Egyptian monuments yet remaining. Even to this apparent proof, however, a very strong objection occurs: the learned among the Egyptians themselves knew nothing of that gradual rise of the art which it has been endevored to investigate among the scanty relics of their antient monuments. They attributed the intire invention to one person, whose name has been variously written Thoth, Thyoth, Theuth, Athothes, Taautus, and who passed with them for a god[39]. On the contrary, among the Assyrians, who, with many

Divine Legation. Origin of Language.

Essay on the Study of Antiquities.

[39] Through some analogy, familiar, it should seem, to the Greeks and Romans, tho not now very apparent, the Egyptian god Thoth was often called by the former Hermes, by the latter Mercurius.

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Shuckford's Connexion of Sacred and Profane History.

other arts, possessed that of alphabetical writing at a period far beyond connected history, no tradition appears to have remained, by whom it was invented or whence it came: and it is a remarkable circumstance, tho to found on it any positive inference, it must be confessed, were hazardous, that, while many, both Greek and Roman writers, ascribe the invention to the Syrians or Phenicians, the earliest occasion upon which history or tradition mentions the USE of Letters was the Delivery of the Decalogue to the people of Israel.

Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 7. c. 56.

Tho therefore doubt yet hangs about the origin of this inestimable art, and some may still be inclined to suppose with Diodorus or with Pliny that letters were of Asiatic birth, while others believe with Plato that they were invented in Egypt, yet from that very remote age in which they are known to have been used for the purpose of recording the divine law, we can trace their history, or, at least, the history of their progress westward, with some certainty. Indeed every known alphabet bears strong marks of derivation from one common source, whence Egypt, Syria, and Assyria, had all profited before its advantages were known to the rest of the world[40]. According to the report most generally

Plat. Philenus, p. 19. t. 2. & Phædrus. p. 274. t. 3. ed. Serr.

[40] Astle, in his treatise on the Origin and Progress of Writing, mentions that alphabets have been discovered among the eastern nations, which cannot have been derived from that ONE, which, he yet allows, 'has given origin to the far greater 'part of those now used in different parts of the globe (1).' The reasons however which he states for the opinion seem not conclusive.

Since the first publication of the foregoing note, I have had the satisfaction to observe that Gibbon's very extensive inquiries have led him to a similar conclusion. Rom. Hist. c. 24. And he adds (c. 42. note 36) 'I have long harboured a suspicion that all the Scythian, and some, perhaps much of the Indian science, was derived from the Greeks of Bactriana.'

(1) Orig. & Prog. of Writing, c. 4. p. 48, 49, &c. c. 5. p. 64.

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received among the Greeks, letters were first introduced into their country by a colony of Orientals, who founded Thebes in Bœotia; and the very near resemblance of the first Greek alphabet to the Phenician, indeed sufficiently testifies whence it came[41]. The name of Cadmus, by which the leader of the colony became known to posterity, signified, it has been observed, in the Phenician language, an eastern man: and, till the overwhelming irruption of Bœotians from Thessaly, about sixty years (according to Thucydides) after the Trojan war, the country was called Cadmeïs, and the people Cadmeians[42].

Sharpe on the Origin of Languages.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 12.

[41] Concors pene omnium scriptorum opinio est Græcas a Phœnicibus literas esse mutuatas, & ante Cadmi ætatem nullas apud Græcos extitisse literas.—Ære perennius documentum superest vel ex nominibus literarum, quæ in utraque lingua, Phœnicia videlicit & Græca, eadem prorsus sunt. Montfaucon Paleograph. Græc. l. 2. c. 1.

[42] Καδμεῖοι is the common name for the inhabitants of Bœotia with Homer and Hesiod (1), as well as with Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles. But this name seems not to have been confined to those orientals who settled in that province. Herodotus (2) speaks of Cadmeians who expelled the Dorians from Histiæotis in Thessaly. History is not without other examples of national names arising in the same manner; among which that of the Normans is remarkable, and in every point analogous to that of the Cadmeians: losing, in their settlement in France, both the name and the language of their original country, their new name of Normans was an appellation descriptive of the relative situation of their old country to their new, in words of the lost language. Homer has used the Cadmeian name in two places with a different termination, Καδμείωνας (3); and it has been observed that, thus written, it bears a very near resemblance to the name of a people of Canaan mentioned in the book of Joshua to have been expelled by the Israelites. Upon a meer resemblance of the orthography of names, however, little or nothing can be founded. Similar changes of termination are common with Homer for the purposes of variety and meter only.

(1) Iliad. l. 4. v. 388 & 391. & Odyss. l. 11. v. 275. Scut. Herc. v. 13.
(2) Herod. l. 1. c. 56. (3) Iliad. l. 4. v. 385. & l. 23. v. 680.

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But we find strong reason to suppose that, in the early ages, the difference of language over Asia, Africa, and Europe, as far as their inhabitants of those ages are known to us, was but a difference of dialect; and that the people of Greece, Phenicia and Egypt, mutually understood each other[43]. Nor does any circumstance in the history of the Grecian people appear more difficult to account for, even in conjecture, than the superiority of form and polish which their speech acquired, in an age beyond tradition, and in circumstances apparently most unfavorable. For it was amid continual migrations, expulsions, mixtures of various hords, and revolutions of every kind, the most unquestionable circumstances of early Grecian history, that was formed that language, so simple in its analogy, of such complex art in its

[43] For the affinity of the early languages of Asia, Africa, and Europe, Sharpe on the Origin of Languages, Monboddo on the Origin of Language, and Pownall on the Study of Antiquities, may be referred to; and the opinion receives no small confirmation from one of the most observant and intelligent of modern travellers, Voyage en Egypte & en Syrie par M. C. F. Volney, ch. 6. p. 77. t. 1. ed. 1787. The Greek and Latin languages are of acknowleged oriental origin. The Teutonic dialects, notwithstanding their coarseness, have a manifest affinity with the Greek and Latin. The Celtic dialects have, in many characteristical circumstances, a close analogy to the Hebrew and its allied oriental tongues (1). In the Welsh, the deficiency of a present tense to the verbs, the having often the third person singular of the past tense for the root, and the use of affixed pronouns and particles, are remarkable. Its particular resemblance to the Arabic in its innumerable forms for plurals of nouns is also remarkable. Whence arose the strong characteristical differences which distinguish the Greek and Latin from their parent languages of the east; and how, among the western nations, the Celtic, the most westerly, held the oriental character, while the Persian, eastward among the orientals, acquired a middle character between the more westerly Asiatic and the Greek, are problems which excite curiosity, but which scarcely the learning and diligence of a Gebelin will ever solve.

(1) See major (now general) Vallancy's Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language, and his Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic.

composition and inflexion, of such clearness, force, and elegance in its contexture, and of such singular sweetness, variety, harmony, and majesty, in its sound. Already in the time of Homer and Hesiod, who lived long before writing was common, we find it in full possession of these perfections; and we learn on no less authority than that of Plato, that still in his time the diction of Thamyras and Orpheus, supposed to have lived long before Homer, was singularly pleasing.

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Plat. de Leg. l. 8. p. 829. t. 2.

The history of Grecian LETTERS lies more open to investigation. Manners and customs have remained in the East remarkably unvaried through all ages; and language has been, in the same countries, proportionally permanent. The Syriac and Arabic, to this day, bear a close affinity to the Hebrew, even of the Pentateuch. Through the Arabic, therefore, the Syriac, Samaritan, Chaldee, and Hebrew, we have means of tracing one language almost to the beginning of things. In all these dialects we find that orthography has always been very imperfect. It has been much contested whether the antient orientals used any characters to express vowels[44]. It is certain that the modern Arabs, with twenty-eight

[44] Masclef's account of the Hebrew alphabet I prefer to any that I have seen. The author seems to have been well acquainted with the general character of eastern pronuntiation, and with the analogy between pronuntiation and orthography in the eastern languages. Dr. Gregory Sharpe, who has followed, with a view to improve upon him, evidently knowing little of any language, but his own, except through books, yet bold enough magisterially to contradict those who had means which he could not have, has laboured to form a system upon the very mistaken supposition that elementary sounds are, in the pronuntiation of all people, the same. For supplying the deficient vowels, Sharpe's proposals is preferable to Masclef's, because more simple; the quality which alone can make the merit of either, as both are equally unfounded on any authority.—For authority, for the Arabic alphabet, I follow Richardson's Grammar.

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letters in their alphabet, acknowlege none for vowels; and the Persians, with a very different language, adopting the Arabic alphabet, have added some consonants wanting for their pronuntiation, and only consonants. It should seem, from these circumstances, that oriental pronuntiation and oriental orthography have been settled by organs and perceptions not very elegant and discerning. Consonants indeed have been distinguished with some accuracy each by its proper letter: for consonant sounds are mostly so separated by their nature, and so incapable of being blended, that the dullest ear easily discriminates them. But it is not so with the liquid sound of vowels. Inaccurate organs of pronuntiation will confound, and inaccurate organs of hearing will mistake, especially in hasty utterance, those which, deliberately spoken by a good voice, appear, to a discerning ear, strongly distinguished. The orientals, therefore, in committing language to writing, expressed vowels in those syllables only where the vowel-sound, whether through length or accent, was more particularly marked by the voice; leaving it in others to be supplied by the reader's knowlege of the word. Thus in all the eastern dialects, antient and modern, we find numberless words, and some of many syllables, without a single vowel written. It seems, however, to be admitted that three of the Arabic letters were originally vowels[45]; and there remains appa-

[45] Among many proofs that some of the Arabic letters were originally true vowels, the older Persic writings in the Arabic character, appear strong; for in them, we are told, every syllable had its vowel (1). The pronuntiation of the Persic is more delicate, and its form more perfect than those of the western Asiatic tongues, and in both it approaches nearer to the Greek.

(1) See Richardson's Dissertation on Eastern Languages, p. 236. of 2d edit.

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rently, ample proof that at least the three corresponding Hebrew letters were also vowels[46]. But neither in the Arabic nor Persian (which would appear to us more extraordinary if the same abuse was not familiar, tho somewhat less gross and less frequent, in our own language) is the letter written a guide to be relied upon for the vowel to be pronounced. Hence it seems to have been that, in all the oriental languages, those letters have ceased to support their reputation of vowels; and hence the comparatively modern resource of points, which, without removing the vowel-letters from their orthographical station, intirely supersede them in the office of directing the voice[47].

[46] Quas veteres Hebræi Matres Lectionis vocârunt (1). If any letter of the Hebrew alphabet was a vowel, א would be such; and we have the express testimony of Josephus to three more: ων. Ταῦτα δέ ἐστι φωνήεντα τέσσαρα (2). The Arabic letters also, Alif, Waw, Ya, corresponding to the Hebrew which we call Alef, Vau or Waw, Jod, the Matres Lectionis, if they are not vowels, are nothing; for it is comparatively seldom that Waw and Ya are sounded like our v and j consonants. Beside these, the letters Ain and He, corresponding to the Hebrew letters of the same names, are, one always, the other sometimes, vowels. But these five vowel-letters are very irregularly applied to the expression of vowel-sounds; or, to speak familiarly to English ears, words in the Arabic continually, and in the Persian often, are not to be pronounced as they are spelt, but in a manner widely different. Moreover, tho there are five letters in the Arabic alphabet reälly vowels, yet only three vowel-sounds can be discriminated by them; for the letters Ain and He seem to have no vowel powers that are not also possessed by other letters.

[47] It seems to be now decided, among the learned, that the vowel-points of the Arabs and Persians were unknown till after the age of Mahomet, and that the Hebrew points were imitated from them. The idea of using points to represent vowels appears to have been suggested by the Greek marks of accent. For when the Greek, through the Macedonian conquests, and still more through the Roman, became a universal language, marks, invented and first used in the Alexandrine school, came into general use to direct all nations to the proper accentuation. In our own language, and in the Italian and Spanish, the useful practice has been followed, and indeed is

(1) Mascl. Gram. Heb. c. 1. Numb. 2. (2) De Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 15.

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I have been induced to enter the more minutely, I fear tediously for some readers, into this detail, because we seem hence to acquire considerable light on some circumstances, otherwise unaccountable, in so curious and interesting a part of the history of mankind as the history of Grecian litterature. The lowest date assigned to the arrival of Cadmus in Greece is one thousand and forty-five years before Christ. Homer florished not less than two hundred years after him. It has been doubted whether Homer could write or read; and the arguments adduced for the negative, in Mr. Wood's Essay on the Original Genius of Homer, seem scarcely controvertible. The earliest Grecian prose-writers known to the antients themselves, were Pherecydes of Syrus, and Cadmus of Miletus; mentioned by Pliny to have lived during the reign of Cyrus king of Persia, and at least two hundred and fifty years after Homer. No Grecian state had its laws put in writing till about the same period, when Draco was archon at Athens, and Zaleucus lawgiver of

Newton's Chronology, p. 13.

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 29. & l. 7. c. 56. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. 1. c. 2. Strabo, l. 6. p. 259.

now deemed indispensable, in grammars and dictionaries. But when the Arabic, by the conquests of the Califs, became scarcely less extended than the Greek had been; and its men of learning, in the leisure of peace, and under the patronage of munificent princes, applied themselves diligently to the study of Grecian litterature, the inconveniencies of their own orthography would, particularly upon comparison, appear glaring. To remedy, therefore, the utter discord between their vowel-letters written, and vowel-sounds pronounced, and to remove the uncertainty of those syllables where custom had established that no vowel should be written, they took the Grecian marks of accent and aspiration, and, with some alterations and additions, applied them to represent the sound of vowels, and to supply other defects of their established orthography. Thus the French use the Greek marks of accent to discriminate the different sounds of the letter *e*, and to point out the omission of an orthographical *s*. Still, however, the new marks for vowels being only three, are very unequal to their purpose; and they have moreover never obtained general use either in Arabic or Persian writing.

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the Epizephyrian Locrians[48]. The earliest Grecian prose-writers whose works had any considerable reputation with posterity, were Hecatæus of Miletus, and Pherecydes of Athens, who were about half a century later. The interval, therefore, between the first introduction of letters, and any familiar use of them was, by the most moderate computation, between four and five hundred years.

Herodot. l. 2. c. 143. l. 5. c. 125. et l. 6. c. 137. Strabo, l. 1. p. 18. & al. Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. l. 1.

Extraordinary as this very slow progress of so highly useful an art, among so ingenious and so informed a people, may on first view appear, circumstances are known which may amply account for it. The want of convenient and cheap materials for writing might almost alone suffice. The practice of the art was necessarily confined within very narrow limits, while, instead of the pen flowing on that cheap, commodious, and lasting material, paper, the graver was to be employed on plates of brass, or the chisel on blocks of marble. But to this must be added the consideration that the oriental characters, when first introduced into Greece, would not be readily applicable to Grecian speech. The oriental dialects appear always to have had, as they still have, harsh sounds, unutterable by the Greeks[49], and cha-

[48] If any should be inclined to suppose that what Plato says of the laws of Minos king of Crete (1) being ingraved on brazen tablets, for the use of his itinerant chief justice Talus, was meant to be seriously taken, as reported on historical authority (of which it does not, however, bear the least appearance) still the testimonies of Josephus and Strabo, so nearly concurring, should be decisive for the rest of Greece.

[49] Quas aures nostræ penitus reformidant, as it is observed by Jerom (2), and Grecian ears were still more fastidious than the Roman. Even Josephus, tho himself a Jew, and zealous for the honor of his nation, confesses that he dared not attempt to express the harshness of Hebrew names in Greek writing.

(1) Plat. Minos, p. 320. t. 2.
(2) Hieronym. de Locis Hebraicis, voce Ramasses.

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racters to express them, of course useless to the Greeks, while Grecian speech had sounds not to be expressed by any oriental character[50]. The invention, therefore, of new letters, or at least the invention of a new application of the old, would be indispensable: works which, if quickly completed, would still be long in gaining the necessary authority of popular use, in a half-polished nation, wanting commodious materials, and divided into independent states unnumbered. Nor do these circumstances rest upon surmize. We have a plain account of them in Herodotus, which bears in itself every appearance of being well-founded; and, assisted by what we know of oriental orthography, and what we learn from antient Greek inscriptions on marbles yet existing, becomes in every part intelligible, and almost circumstantial. The Cadmeians, that author

Herodot. l. 5. c. 59.

[50] Analogous circumstances, if we only look to the nations immediately surrounding us, are within our ready observation. We have no characters to express the sounds of the French *J*, or *U*, or final *N*; nor is the pronuntiation of the two latter easily acquired, unless in early years, by either an English or an Italian voice. The Spanish gutturals *G*, *J*, *X*, are equally strange to us. Of the whole utterance of the Dutch and German languages, tho so nearly related to our own, we may say with Jerom, Aures nostræ penitus reformidant. On the other hand, our vowel *I* is peculiar to ourselves; our sound of *CH*, familiar to the Spaniards and Italians, is unutterable to the French; and our two sounds of *TH*, familiar to the Greeks at the farther corner of Europe, who express them by their θ and δ, is unknown, and scarcely to be pronounced, by any other European people. If then England was at this day without letters, and an alphabet was acquired from the French, our nearest neighbors, from whom a large proportion of our language has been borrowed, it would not be the business of a moment to apply that alphabet to our purpose. How should we express our *TH*, our *CH*, our *I*, and *J*, and our diphthong *OU*? While hesitating about these, we should find the French *U* superfluous; we have no such sound in our language; and, puzzled by their nasal utterance of the final *M* and *N*, so strange and so disagreeable to an English ear, we should be at a loss to assign to those characters their proper office.

says, at first used Letters exactly after the Phenician manner. But in process of time, their language receiving alterations, they changed also the power of some of their letters. Examples of Cadmeian letters, thus accommodated to Grecian speech, were remaining in the historians time: who affirms that he saw them on some tripods in the temple of Apollo Ismenius at Thebes, the inscriptions on which he has transmitted to us. In this state letters passed, he continues, to the Ionian Greeks of Attica, and other neighboring provinces. By these some farther alterations were made; but the letters, he says, were still called Phenician. The principal additions, which the melodious sounds and accurate harmony of the Greek language required, were to the vowels. No syllable was suffered to be without its vowel written. Yet all the nice discriminations of vowel-sounds in the voice, even of those essential to the harmony of the language, were not at last expressed by written characters; tho in the end, instead of three discriminating vowel-letters, probably received from the East, the Greeks used seven vowel-letters of different powers, beside many combinations of vowels, called diphthongs; which, whatever composition of sound may be supposed in them, were so far simple sounds that each could contribute to the formation of but a single syllable. From the Greek was derived the Latin orthography, and thence that of all western Europe; among which the English, being the most irregular and imperfect, approaches nearest in character to the oriental[51].

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[51] The vowels of the earliest Greek alphabet have been supposed only four, A, E, I, O, tho ϒ is said to be found among the oldest extant inscriptions. The gradual additions have been traced in inscriptions, and their history has been confirmed

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But during the centuries while the Grecian alphabet was thus receiving its form, some very remarkable changes took place also in the method of writing; partly perhaps in consequence of the delay in establishing the alphabet, and itself no doubt a hindrance to the progress of letters among the Grecian people. It seems not questionable that, on the first introduction of letters into Greece, the oriental manner of arranging them obtained, from the right to-

Astle on the Origin and Progress of Writing, c. 5.

from passages of Greek and Roman authors (1). The invention or introduction of particular letters by Palamedes, Simonides, and others, to whom it has been attributed, is not ascertained on any authority (2). The vowels of the antient Etruscan alphabet were only four, A, E, I, V (3). But the Greek Θ, and the Etruscan U, like the Hebrew ו in the time of Jerom, and the Arabic and Persian و at this day, were originally used both for the simple sound of O, and for that which was afterwards distinguished by the diphthong ΟΥ; which had probably also a simple sound only, as it has now in the modern Greek, like the French *ou*, the English *oo*, and the Italian *u*. Hence also it appears probable, that the Greek termination ος and the Latin *us* had nearly the same enuntiation; and hence perhaps, rather than form any intended preference of the Latin ablative, the Italians, in dropping the *s*, have been led to substitute *o* for the Latin *u*. If the orthography of our own language was not almost too irregular for example, we might produce many words in which *o* has the sound of *u*; but it deserves observation, that our usual short sound of *u*, which is peculiar to ourselves, resembles so nearly the Italian short sound of *o*, that the Italians, and also the French, use the letter *o* to express it. The Greek υ we know for certain to have had a very different sound from the Latin *u*, the long sound of which was in Greek represented by the diphthong ου, and the short by the vowel ο. The modern Greeks also represent by their diphthong ου, the Italian vowel *u*, and our *oo*. The modern Greek υ, the Italian *u*, the French *u*, and the English *u*, have all different powers. What precisely was the power of the antient Greek υ we cannot certainly know: but strong national partiality only, and determined habit, could lead to the imagination cherished by some French critics, to whom otherwise Grecian litterature has high obligation, that it was a sound so unpleasant, produced by a position of the lips so ungraceful, as the French *u*.

(1) See Shuckford's Connexion, b. 4.
(2) Montfaucon. Palæograph. Græc. l. 2. c. 1.
(3) Gor. Mus. Etrusc. Prolegom. p. 48. & t. 2. p. 405.

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ward the left. Afterward the practice arose of forming the lines alternately from right to left, and from left to right; and then it became customary to begin from the left, and return in the second line to the left again. At length, about the time of the Persian invasion, several centuries after Cadmus, this alternate arrangement was finally disused, and the Greeks wrote only from the left toward the right. In this practice they have been followed by all the European nations, while the orientals still hold the original method of arranging their characters from the right toward the left.

After the general excellence of the Greek language, the perfection which its POETRY attained, at an era beyond almost all memorials, except what that poetry itself has preserved, becomes an object of high curiosity. In vain, however, would we inquire for the origin of that verse which, tho means no longer exist for learning to express its proper harmony, still, by a charm almost magical, pleases universally. But it was the ignorance of letters that gave poetry its consequence in the early ages. To assist memory was perhaps the original purpose for which verse was invented: certainly it was among its most important uses. How necessary even such precarious assistance was, and how totally the surer help of letters was wanting, we may judge from the difficulty which Homer ascribes to the exact recital of a catalogue of names. Hence Memory was deified: hence the Muses were called her immediate offspring. For this also, among other causes, poetry has in all countries preceded regular prose composition. Laws were, among the early Greeks, always promulgated in verse, and often publicly sung; a practice which remained, in some places, long after letters were be-

Iliad. l. 2. v. 484. Hesiod. Theogon. v. 52. & 915.

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come common[52]: morality was taught, history was delivered in verse: law-givers, philosophers, historians, all who would apply their experience or their genius to the instruction or amusement of others, were necessarily poets. The character of poet was therefore a character of dignity: an opinion even of sacredness became attached to it: a poetical genius was esteemed an effect of divine inspiration, and a mark of divine favor[53]: and the poet, who moreover carried with him instruction and entertainment no way to be obtained without him, was a privileged person, injoying, by a kind of prescription, the rights of universal hospitality. These circumstances would contribute to improve and to fix the language. But similar circumstances have been common in other nations about the same period of progress in art and science, without producing a language comparable to the Greek[54].

[52] Πρὶν ἐπίσασθαι γράμματα ἦδον τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιλάθωνται· ὥσπερ ἐν Αγαθύρσοις ἔτι εἰώθασι. Aristot. Probl. sect. 19. art. 28. Strabo informs us (1) that even in his time, Νομωδὸς Lawsinger was the title of a principal magistrate at Mazaca in Cappadocia, where the code of the Sicilian legislator Charondas was the established law.

[53] Αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμὶ· θεὸς δὲ μοὶ ἐν φρεσὶν οἵμας
Παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν·
says the bard Phemius. Odyss. l. 22. v. 348.

[54] According to all traditions, it was before Homer's time that letters were communicated from Phenicia to Greece; yet, upon the supposition that their use was familiarly known to him, it would be extremely difficult to account for the importance which he attributes to memory, and his total silence about so invaluable an assistant to it. The presumption that Homer wrote, or that his poems were written for him under his direction, is supported meerly by the argument of necessity, the imagined impossibility that works like his could be composed amid the helpless ignorance of a people without letters, or that they could be preserved, even supposing them so composed. Dr. Johnson, whose days were passed in a closet, who knew nothing but by the instrumentality of letters, and could communicate his knowlege only by his pen and ink, had full faith in

(1) b. 12. p. 539.

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The character of the Language of a people must always considerably influence the character of their Music. Among the Greeks, Music had evidently a readiness and intimacy of connection with verse, which no modern European language knows, and which therefore we now in vain would scrutinize. What indeed the music itself of the antients ever was, we have little means of judging, as none of it has been transmitted intelligible to us; but that the very early Grecian music had extraordinary merit, we have Plato's testimony in very remarkable words[55]; and Aristotle, generally enough disposed to differ from his master, upon this subject coïncides in judgement with him[56]. In Homer's time we find

that impossibility, and soverein contempt for such a people. But Plato, who had been accustomed to constant and extensive communication among men, in an age when letters were well known, but the common use of them still recent, and who had himself learnt the philosophy of Socrates without their assistance, certainly thought very differently on the subject (1); and I am much more disposed, in regard to such a matter, to defer to the authority of Plato than of Dr. Johnson.

With regard to the γράμματα which the poet tells us were sent by Bellerophon, from Corinth into Lycia, supposing Mr. Wood wrong in holding it to have been a picture rather than a letter, and that it was already usual in Homer's age to write on tablets of board covered with wax, which we know was the way in which the Greeks managed epistolary correspondence some centuries after him, it would still remain to be shown how volumes like the Iliad and Odyssee could be preserved in writing. For myself, I will own that I believe Mr. Wood right in his explanation of the γράμματα. It is not a subject on which I would inlarge here, yet I will not quit it without noticing a deficiency in our later dictionaries: the word γράμμα is used for a picture, by Plato (2), and by Theocritus (3), and possibly by other writers, and this sense of the word has been noticed by Scapula, yet has escaped both Schrevelius and Hederic.

[55] See note 38. sect. 4. chap. 1. of this History.

[56] Ὀλύμπου μέλη ὁμολογουμένως ποιεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικὰς.—Aristot. Polit. I. 4.

(1) See Plato's Phædrus, p. 275. v 3. (2) De Repub. l. 5. p. 472.
(3) Idyll. 15. v. 81.

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both stringed and wind instruments familiar[57]. Poetry seems to have been always sung, and the accompaniment of an instrument to have been esteemed essential[58]. Farther of the music of Homer's age we can only judge from analogy. Probably it was very inartificial. But it appears a solecism to suppose that those elegant perceptions and nice organs, which gave form to the most harmonious language ever spoken among men, and guided invention to the structure of that verse which, even under the gross disguise of modern pronuntiation, is still universally charming, could have produced or could have tolerated a vicious or inelegant style of music. Extreme simplicity in music is perfectly consistent with elegance, and the most affecting music generally is most simple.

Iliad. l. 10. v. 13. l. 18. v. 495. & al.

Considering the imperfection of civil government, and the consequent insecurity of property, greater advances had already, in Homer's age, been made in many Arts conducive to convenience and elegance of living, than might have been expected. AGRICULTURE, in various branches, appears to have been carried on with great regularity. It is remarked by Cicero that Hesiod, in his poem on husbandry, makes no mention of manure: but Homer expressly speaks of dunging land, as well as of plowing, sowing, reaping corn and mowing grass. The culture of the vine also was well understood, and the making of wine carried through the different

De Senectute.

Odyss. l. 17. v. 299.

[57] The strings were, like those now used, of the guts of sheep twisted, as we are informed by Homer in the Odyssee, l. 21. v. 408.

[58] Thus it seems also to have been with our rude Anglo-Saxon ancestors; for the great Alfred, as it is remarked by bishop Percy in his Essay on the Minstrels, translates Cantare by the words 'be harpan singan,' to sing to the harp; as if there was no singing without an instrument.

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processes with much attention and knowlege. This is evident from various circumstances mentioned by Homer, and particularly from the age to which wines were kept: Nestor produced some, at a sacrifice, eleven years old. Oil from the olive was in use: but the culture of the tree appears not to have been extensive. In Alcinoüs's garden the vineyard is a principal feature by itself; but the olive is only found in the orchard, with the apple, the pear, the pomgranate, and the fig[59]. Pasturage has generally preceded tillage, and herds and flocks constituted the principal riches of Homer's time. Cattle, in the scarcity, or perhaps non-existence of coin, were the most usual measure of the value of commodities. The golden armor of Glaucus, we are told, was worth a hundred oxen: the brazen armor of Diomed nine: the tripod, the first prize for wrestling at the funeral of Patroclus, was valued at twelve

Odyss. l. 2. v. 340. & l. 9. v. 205.

Odyss. l. 3. v. 390.

Odyss. l. 7. v. 112.

Iliad. l. 6. v. 236.

l. 23. v. 702.

[59] Tho the interpreters of the Greek and Latin languages find in nothing more frequent and more insuperable difficulties than in the names of plants, yet the fruits mentioned by Homer, as the produce of Alcinoüs's garden, seem certainly to have been those which we know by the names of Apple, Pear, Pomgranate, and Fig. Cousin Despréaux, in his History of Greece, has interpreted Μηλέαι to signify Oranges: but the Orange, with many other of the more delicate fruits of Asia, was, evidently enough, unknown, or at least unproduced, in Greece, for ages after Homer. The Apple is still common there, and still called Μῆλον; and all the other ordinary fruits preserve their antient names: Σῦκον is still a Fig, Ἐλαῖα an Olive, Κάϛανον a Chesnut; and with very little alteration of the old words, Ῥόδι and Ροῖδι a Pomgranate, Ἀσῖδι a Pear, Σταφύλι a Grape, Ἀμπέλι a Vine, Κεράσι a Cherry, Πέπωνι a Melon; but an Orange is Ναράντζι. When the Orange became known to the antient Greeks and Romans, it was, like the Peach, Apricot, and others, called indeed Μῆλον, Malum, but with a distinguishing epithet derived from the country whence it was imported, Μῆλον Μηδικὸν, or sometimes, from its rich color, Μῆλον χρυσοῦν.

M. Barthelemi (quoting for authority Antiphon as cited by Athenæus, b. 3. c. 7. p. 84.) says that the citron was imported from Persia into Greece a little after the Peloponnesian war. Anacharsis, c. 59.

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oxen; the female slave, the second prize, at four. When Eumæus, in the Odyssee, would convey an idea of the opulence of Ulysses, he tells neither of the extent of his lands, nor the quantity of his moveables, but of his herds and flocks only. But commerce seems to have been carried on intirely by exchange. In the Iliad we have a description of a supply of wine brought by sea to the Grecian camp, where it is bought by some, says the poet, with brass, by some with iron, by some with hides, by some with cattle, by some with slaves.

Odyss. l. 14. v. 100.

Iliad. l. 7. v. 467.

The art of MASONRY appears to have been not mean in Homer's time. The opulent had houses of stone, Homer calls it polished stone, perhaps meaning only squared and well-wrought stone, with numerous and spacious apartments for state as well as for convenience; and it was with no small state that they were waited upon in them by numerous attendants. A late ingenious and learned author has remarked that bathing, always a favorite article of eastern luxury, was in Homer's time carried to a high pitch of convenience, and even of elegance; and that it declined after him, and remained in a ruder state till it was restored, some centuries after, by Hippocrates, for medicinal purposes. It is indeed probable that luxury and arts declined generally after Homer's age, and from more than one cause. For the present, however, it may suffice to observe, that when Greece raised those sumptuous public buildings which, for elegance of taste and excellence of workmanship, the most informed and refined of other nations have ever since studied and never yet equalled, the private dwellings appear to have been scarcely in anything superior to those of Homer's time.

Odyss. l. 10. v. 211.

Sir Ed. Barry, on the Wines of the Antients.

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Nevertheless Homer, as we have already remarked, claims nothing of that superiority in art or science for his fellowcountrymen which they afterward so justly made their boast. On the contrary, he ascribes to Phenicia preëminence in the arts, and to Egypt in riches and population. Ornamental works in metals, in ivory, in wool, we find were not uncommon in Greece in his time: the art of gilding silver, or perhaps rather of plating silver with gold, was already known; and the same art of dying crimson, which became so highly esteemed in the times of luxury and refinement among both Greeks and Romans, appears to have had its origin before Homer[60]. We have in the Odyssee the following list of presents to a lady: 'A tunic, large, 'beautiful, variegated; twelve golden hooks were 'on it, nicely fitted to well-bent eyes; a golden 'necklace of elegant workmanship, set with amber, 'and highly splendid; a pair of three-drop ear-rings 'exquisitely brilliant:' another ornament for the neck is added, for which we want a name. It rather appears, however, that these admired works of art were not the produce of Greece. In another place Homer describes a merchant offering to sale a golden necklace set with amber; but that merchant was a Phenician: a silver bowl is described excelling all that ever was seen; 'for,' adds the poet, 'Sido-'nian artists made it, and Phenicians brought it over 'the sea;' and when Hecuba was particularly anxious to make an acceptable offering to Minerva, she selected a veil from her store of the works of Sidonian women. It seems indeed to have been a regular part of the Phenician commerce to send toys for

Iliad. l. 23. v. 744. l. 9. v. 381.

l. 23. v. 159.

Odyss. l. 18. v. 291.

Odyss. l. 15. v. 458.

Iliad. l. 23. v. 744.

l. 6. v. 289.

[60] The expression ἁλιπόρφυρα (Odyss. l. 6. v. 53.) seems to warrant this opinion.

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ventures to the Grecian ports[61]. Handicraft arts were not yet become trades in Greece; even princes exercising them for themselves. Ulysses, not only in his distress was a skilful boatbuilder, but in the height of opulence made his own bedstead, adorning it with gold, silver, and ivory.

Odyss. l. 23. v. 189. & seq.

COMMERCE, in the Homeric age, appears to have been principally in the hands of the Phenicians. The carrying trade of the Mediterranean was early theirs, and Sidon was the great seat of manufacture. The Greeks were not without traffic carried on by sea among themselves; but the profession of merchant had evidently not in Homer's time that honorable estimation which yet, according to Plutarch, it acquired at an early period in Greece. While it was thought not unbecoming a prince to be a carpenter to supply his own wants or luxuries, to be a merchant for gain was held but as a mean employment: a pirate was a more respected character.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 1.

Plutarch. vit. Solon. init.

Odyss. l. 3. v. 71. & l. 8. v. 161.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 5.

The ART of WAR is among the arts of necessity, which all people, the rudest equally and the most polished, must cultivate, or ruin will follow the neglect. The circumstances of Greece were in some respects peculiarly favorable to the improvement of this art. Divided into little states, the capital of each, with the greater part of the territory, generally within a day's march of several neighboring states, which might be enemies, and seldom were thoroughly to be trusted as friends, while from the establishment of slavery arose everywhere perpetual danger of a domestic foe, it was of peculiar necessity both for every individual to be a soldier, and for the com-

[61] - - - - Φοίνικες ναυσίκλυτοι ἦλυθον ἄνδρες
Τρῶκται, μυρί' ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηῒ μελαίνῃ.—
Odyss. l. 15. v. 415.

munity to pay unremitted attention to military affairs. Accordingly we find that, so early as Homer's time, the Greeks had improved considerably upon that tumultuary warfare alone known to many barbarous nations, who yet have prided themselves in the practice of war for successive centuries. Several terms used by the poet, together with his descriptions of marches, indicate that orders of battle were in his time regularly formed in ranks and files. Steddiness in the soldier, that foundation of all those powers which distinguish an army from a mob, and which to this day forms the highest praise of the best troops, we find in great perfection in the Iliad. 'The Grecian phalanges,' says the poet, 'marched 'in close order, the leaders directing each his own 'band. The rest were mute: insomuch that you 'would say in so great a multitude there was no 'voice. Such was the silence with which they re-'spectively watched for the word of command from 'their officers.

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Iliad. l. 4. v. 427.

Considering the deficiency of iron, the Grecian troops appear to have been very well armed, both for offence and defence. Their defensive armor consisted of a helmet, a breastplate, and greaves, all of brass, and a shield, commonly of bull's hide, but often strengthened with brass. The breastplate appears to have met the belt, which was a considerable defence to the belly and groin: and with an appendant skirt guarded also the thighs. All together covered the forepart of the soldier from the throat to the ancle; and the shield was a superadded protection for every part. The bulk of the Grecian troops were infantry thus heavily armed, and formed in close order, many ranks deep. Any body, formed in ranks and files, close and deep, without regard to a specific number of either ranks or files,

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was generally termed a phalanx[62]. But the Locrians, under Oïlean Ajax, were all light-armed; bows were their principal weapons, and they never engaged in close fight[63].

Iliad. l. 13. v. 722.

Riding on horseback was yet little practised, tho it appears to have been not unknown[64]. Some centuries, however, passed before it was generally applied in Greece to military purposes; the mountainous ruggedness of the country preventing any extensive use of cavalry, except among the Thessalians, whose territory was a large plain. But in the Homeric armies no chief was without his chariot, drawn generally by two, sometimes by three horses; and these chariots of war make a principal figure in Homer's battles. Nestor, forming the army for action, composes the first line of chariots only. In the second he places that part of the infantry in which he has least confidence; and then forms a third line, or reserve, of the most approved troops. It seems extraordinary that chariots should have been so extensively used in war as we find they were in the early ages. In the wide plains of Asia indeed we may account for their introduction, as we may

[62] Homer applies the term equally to the Trojan as to the Grecian troops. Iliad. l. 4. v. 332. and l. 6. v. 83.

[63] Homer has been evidently far more conversant in military matters than Hesiod. Yet there might be men of Locris to whom the epithet ἀγχέμαχοι, which Hesiod gives to the Locrians of Amphitryon's army (1), would be properly applied.

[64] No person of Agamemnon's time is mentioned by Homer as riding on horseback, except Diomed, when, with Ulysses, he made prize of the horses of Rhesus (2). A similë in the 15th book of the Iliad (3) has been supposed to prove that horsemanship was greatly improved in the poet's age. It should however be observed that, in the former instance, riding is mentioned familiarly, and not at all as a new or extraordinary device; and that, on the contrary, in the latter, an exhibition of skill is spoken of, which attracted the attention and excited the admiration of all the people of a large city.

(1) Scut. Herc. v. 25. (2) Iliad. l. 10. v. 513. (3) v. 679.

give them credit for utility: but how they should become so general among the inhabitants of rocky, mountainous Greece; how the distant Britons should arrive at that surprising perfection in the use of them, which we find they possessed when the Roman legions first invaded this iland, especially as the same mode of fighting was little, if at all practised among the Gauls and Germans, is less obvious to conjecture[65]. There is however a passage in Herodotus, which furnishes at least some degree of solution for the difficulty. The country north of the Danube, he says, abounded with horses, very small, but swift and hardy. Unable to carry men, they were commonly used in chariots, and thus made highly serviceable. In the early ages probably, through deficiency of pasture at some seasons of the year, horses would not generally attain any considerable size in Greece or in Britain; and the Asiatic practice of using chariots in war, if through the Phenician commerce, or any other means, once communicated, might thus readily obtain, even in our distant iland. Cæsar's praise of the British chariot forces, 'that they possessed at the same time 'the celerity of horse, and the stability of foot,' is no vulgar praise; tho, to us at this day, it is not very clear, from his description, how such a method of fighting should earn it.

Herodot. l. 5. c. 9.

De Bello Gall. l. 4. c. 9.

The combat of the chiefs, so repeatedly described by Homer, advancing to ingage singly in front of their line of battle, is apt to strike a modern reader

[65] Arrian (1) says, that the Gauls and Germans did not use chariots in war. Strabo says, that some tribes of the Gauls did use them. But Cæsar's omission of all mention of the practice among those nations is ample proof that, if it obtained at all, it was not extensive.

(1) Tact. p. 52. ed. Amstel. & Lipz. 1750.

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with an appearance of absurdity perhaps much beyond the reality. Before the use of fire-arms that practice was not uncommon when the art of war was at its greatest perfection. Cæsar himself gives, with evident satisfaction, a very particular account of a remarkable advanced combat in which, not generals indeed, but two centurions of his army ingaged. The Grecian chiefs of the heroïc age, like the knights of the times of chivalry, had armor probably very superior to that of the common soldiers; and this, with the additional advantage of superior skill, acquired by assiduous practice amid unbounded leisure, would make this skirmishing much less dangerous than on first consideration it may appear. The effects also to be expected from it were not unimportant: for it was very possible for a few men of superior strength, activity, and skill, superior also by the excellence of their defensive armor, to create disorder in the close array of the enemy's phalanx. They threw their weighty javelins from a distance, while none dared advance to meet them but chiefs equally well armed with themselves; and from the soldiers in the ranks they had little to fear, because, in that close order, the dart could not be thrown with any advantage[66]. Occasionally indeed we find some person of inferior name advancing to throw his javelin at a chief occupied against some other, but retreating again immediately into the ranks: a resource not disdained by the greatest heroes when

De Bello Gall. l. 5. c. 43.

[66] The vast force with which the heroes of old are reported to have thrown their javelins has been, I know with some, almost an incredibility; but those who have seen the Armenian Philippo throw a stick (the man who communicated to the Society for Incouragement of Arts the method of preparing Turkey leather) will know that Homer's descriptions require little if any allowance for poetical exaggeration. Philippo had been a horse soldier in the Persian service.

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danger pressed. Hector himself having thrown his javelin ineffectually at Ajax, retires towards his phalanx, but is overtaken by a stone of enormous weight, which brings him to the ground. If from the death or wounds of chiefs, or slaughter in the foremost ranks of soldiers, any confusion arose in the phalanx, the shock of the enemy's phalanx, advancing in perfect order, must be irresistible[67]. Iliad. l. 14.

Another practice common in Homer's time is by no means equally defensible, but on the contrary marks great barbarism; that of stopping in the heat of action to strip the slain. Often this paltry passion for possessing the spoil of the enemy superseded all other, even the most important and most deeply interesting objects of battle. The poet himself was not unaware of the danger and inconveniency of the practice, and seems even to have aimed at a reformation of it. We find, indeed, in Homer's warfare, a remarkable mixture of barbarism with regularity. Tho the art of forming an army in phalanx was known and commonly practised, yet the business of a general, in directing its operations, was lost in the passion, or we may call it fashion, of the great men to signalize themselves by acts of personal courage and skill in arms. Achilles and Hector, the first heroes of the Iliad, excel only in the character of fighting soldiers: as generals and directors of the war, they are inferior to many. In- Iliad. l. 5. v. 48. & l. 6. v. 67. l. 18. v. 106. & 252.

[67] The expressions ἐξάλμενος,—ἐκ δ' ἔθορε προμάχων (1),—ἀλλ' ἐτάρων εἰς ἔθνος ἐχάζετο (2), applied to the chiefs; and σίχες ἀνδρῶν,—συργηδὸν ἀρηρότες (3), applied to the phalanx, mark clearly the difference of the two modes of ingagement. The manner of a general ingagement in Homer's time may perhaps best be gathered from the 13th book of the Iliad: that of the close fight of infantry, in particular, from the action under the direction of Ajax, described in the 17th book.

(1) Iliad. l. 15. v. 571. 573. (2) Iliad. l. 13. v. 165. & l. 14. v. 408. (3) Iliad. l. 15. v. 615. & 618.

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deed while the fate of battles depended so much on the skirmishing of the chiefs, we cannot wonder that the prejudice should obtain which set the able arm, in vulgar estimation, above the able head. But the poet obviously means to expose the absurdity and mischievous consequence of that prejudice, where he makes Hector, in a late repentance, acknowlege the superior abilities of Polydamas. Yet Homer's own idea of the duties of an officer, tho he certainly possessed very extensive and very accurate knowlege both of the theory and practice of war of his own age, was still very imperfect. Of all the leaders in the Iliad, unless we should except Ulysses and Nestor, Agamemnon is represented as most indowed with the qualifications of a general: and yet, coming forward in the midst of a doubtful battle, when we might expect the able commander to show himself, we find nothing more from him than exhortation to bold exertion. Merion, an officer very high both in rank and estimation, happening to break his spear in action, immediately quits his command to go to his tent and provide himself with another weapon. Nestor giving orders for an approaching battle, calls the infantry 'the prop of war;' but his directions are almost confined to the charioteers, and even to them discretionary: and, upon the whole, to show the troops the way, more than to command them, seems to have been the business of the chiefs. Excepting indeed in the single circumstance of forming the army in order of battle, so far from the general, we scarcely ever discover even the officer among Homer's heroes. It is not till most of the principal Grecian leaders are disabled by wounds for the duty of soldiers, that at length they so far take upon themselves that of officers as to endevor to restore order among their broken pha-

Iliad. l. 22. v. 99.

l. 5. v. 528. & l. 14. v. 128.

l. 13. v. 246.

l. 4. v. 293.

langes: and even this is not done but at the particular instigation of the god Neptune. The introduction of a deity here may lead to suppose that the poet himself had ideäs of the business of officers superior to the practice of his age. But after only general expressions concerning the attention paid to restore order and give efficacy to the phalanges[68], we find a detail of methods taken to make the most of the particular strength and skill of the ablest individuals, as if that were a matter of greater importance. SECT. III.

We might, however, yet more wonder at another deficiency in Homer's art of war, were it not still universal throughout those rich and populous countries where mankind was first civilized. Even among the Turks, who, far as they have spred over the finest part of Europe, retain pertinaciously every defect of their antient Asiatic customs, the easy and apparently obvious precaution of posting and relieving sentries, so essential to the safety of armies, has never obtained. When, in the ill turn of the Grecian affairs, constant readiness for defence became more especially necessary, it is mentioned as an instance of soldiership in the active Diomed, that he slept on his arms without his tent: but no kind of watch was kept: all his men were at the same time asleep around him; and the other leaders were yet less prepared against surprize. A guard, indeed, selected from the army, was set, in the manner of a modern grand-guard or out-post: but, tho commanded by two officers high both in rank and reputation, yet the commander-in-chief expresses his fear

[68] Τοὺς δ' αὐτοὶ βασιλῆες ἐκόσμεον, οὐτάμενοί περ.
Iliad. l. 14. v. 379.
At the same time,
Τρῶας δ' αὖθ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐκόσμεε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ.—v. 388.

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that, overcome with fatigue, the whole might fall asleep and totally forget their duty[69]. The Trojans, who at the same time, after their success, slept on the field of battle, had no guard appointed by authority, but depended wholly upon the interest which every one had in preventing a surprize: 'They exhorted one another to be watchful,' says the poet. Iliad. l. 10. v. 422. But the allies all slept; and he subjoins the reason, 'For they had no children or wives at hand.' However, tho Homer does not expressly blame the defect, or propose a remedy, yet he gives, in the surprize of Rhesus, an instance of the disasters to which armies are exposed by intermission of watching, that might admonish his fellowcountrymen to improve their practice.

v. 471. The Greeks, and equally the Trojans and their allies, incamped with great regularity, and fortified, if in danger of an attack from a superior enemy. Indeed Homer ascribes no superiority in the art of war, or even in personal courage, to his fellowcountrymen. Even those inland Asiatics, afterward so unwarlike[70], are put by him upon a level with the bravest people. He gives the Mysians the character of persevering bravery[71]; and the Lycians are included with the Trojans and Dardanians under a very honorable epithet, which bespeaks them approved good soldiers in close fight[72]. The tumultuous noise in the Trojan army, mentioned in the l. 4. v. 437. same passage of the Iliad where the praise of steddy silence is given to the Greeks, the poet himself ex-

[69] - - - Φυλακῆς ἐπικάγχυ λάθωνται.—Iliad. l. 10. v. 99.

[70] Ἀβροδιαίτων Λυδῶν
Ὄχλος as Æschylus contemptuously calls them.
Pers. p. 127. ed. H. Steph.

[71] Καρτερόθυμοι. Iliad. l. 14. v. 512.

[72] Ἀγχιμαχηταί. Iliad. l. 15. v. 425, & al.

pressly accounts for; ascribing it, not to any inferiority in discipline, but to the variety of languages spoken among the Trojan allies, which made the delivery of orders, and acting in concert, works of difficulty. Tents, like those now in use, seem to have been a late invention. The antients, on desultory expeditions, and in marching through a country, slept with no shelter but their cloaks, as our light troops often carry none but a blanket. When they remained long on a spot they hutted. Achilles's tent or hut was built of fir, and thached with reeds: and it seems to have had several apartments.

Iliad. l. 24. v. 488. l. 9. v. 659.

NAVIGATION had been much practised, long before Homer, in small open vessels, nearly such as are still common in the Mediterranean; and the poet gives no hint of any late advancement of the art. The seas, indeed, which nearly surround Greece, are singularly adverse to improvements upon that vast scale which oceans require, and which modern times have produced. Broken by innumerable headlands and ilands, with coasts mostly mountainous, and in some parts of extraordinary height, the Grecian seas are beyond others subject to sudden and violent storms. These united circumstances, which have made the Greeks of all ages excellent boatmen, have contributed much to prevent them from becoming seamen. The skill and experience of the pilot, in the modern sense of the term, are constantly wanted: the science of the navigator is of little avail: even the compass is comparatively useless in the Ægean. The Mediterranean vessels now, not excepting the French, which are mostly navigated by Mediterranean sailors, never keep the sea there but with a fair wind. The English alone, accustomed in all their surrounding waters, to a bolder navigation, commonly ven-

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ture in the Archipelago to work to windward[73]. Sails were used in fair winds in Homer's time; but the art of sailing was extremely imperfect. The mariner's dependence was on his oars, which no vessel was without. For in seas so landlocked, yet so tempestuous, the greatest danger was to the stoutest ship. Light vessels, which with their oars could creep along the coast, watch the weather, make way in calms, and, on any threatening appearance, find shelter in shoal water, or upon an open beach, were what Grecian navigation peculiarly required. The Phenicians, for their commerce, used deeper ships, accommodated to their more open seas and longer voyages. But with such weapons only as the antients knew, and in seas where calms as well as storms were frequent, vessels of the galley kind, which, by their oars, could attack, or oppose attacks, on all sides, in all winds, or without wind, were alone fit for naval action. Without artillery indeed, ships like the modern could scarcely at all ingage. The term long ships, both with Greeks and Romans,

[73] Mr. Wood, in his Essay on Homer, has remarked an analogous circumstance in the navigation of the Adriatic. I remember to have heard an English captain of a Turkey ship, a man of knowlege and character, say, that he did not scruple, in tolerable weather, to work to windward within the Arches (as our seamen call the Archipelago, which is itself a corruption of the modern Greek Aigiopelago) but he made it a rule never to take off his clothes, and, without leaving orders to be called in the instant of any threatening appearance in the sky, or any dubious sight of land, never to quit his deck.

Since the first publication of this note, I have observed that Mr. Gibbon derives Archipelago from Ἅγιον πέλαγος, Holy sea, so called, he says, from the Ἅγιον ὄρος, Monte santo, Holy mountain, formerly Athos. All the modern people of the south of Europe have indeed been fond of sainting every thing. Thus the Sabine mountain, so well known from Horace by its antient name *Soracte*, is become with the modern Italians *Sant 'Oreste*, and thus possibly some of the modern Greeks may have converted Ἅγιον πέλαγος into Αἴγον πέλαγος.

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commonly distinguished their ships of war from vessels of burden, which were called round ships. Mr. Wood has supposed that naval actions were unknown in Homer's time: but this appears unlikely, and some terms used by the poet seem to prove the contrary[74]. The Grecian vessels were yet without decks: anchors also were unknown; nor does there seem any foundation for a common notion, that large stones were used as anchors. It was usual to moor vessels to large stones found or placed on the shore[75]: but when any stay was made at a port, the vessel itself was drawn out of the water upon the beach. For the manner of antient navigation requiring that the construction of the vessel should be adapted to rowing more than sailing, the depth of the vessel must be small, and the hands to work it many. Accommodations were therefore unavoidably scanty; and health as well as convenience would require that the crew should live ashore when not wanted aboard. We may compute the size of the largest vessels used in Homer's age, from the greatest number of men mentioned to have been carried by any one vessel of Agamemnon's fleet, which was one hundred and twenty; or perhaps still better from the crew of the Phæacian vessel appointed to carry Ulysses to Ithaca; they were fifty-two, all rowers. This vessel had a moveable mast, mentioned in the singular number, and sails in the plural. Hempen cordage seems to have been unknown: its purposes were supplied by leathern thongs. The principal constellations of our hemisphere, and the apparent courses of the sun and stars had been observed; with the help of which the Greeks were able to

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 10.

Odyss. l. 8. v. 34—54.

[74] Particularly *ναύμαχα*. Iliad. l. 15. v. 389. & 677.

[75] - - Πείσμα δ' ἔλυσαν ἀπὸ τρητοῖο λίθοιο.
Odyss. l. 13. v. 77.

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navigate as far as Cyprus, Phenicia, and Egypt[76], tho their commerce yet seldom led them beyond the Ægean. The seas westward of Greece were less practised. Sicily remained a subject for fable, as the habitation of giants and monsters. The dangers of the Adriatic shores to coasting navigators kept them unexplored: and Strabo, deducing his proof from Homer, says that the Euxine was thought another ocean, and little more known than the Atlantic.

Wood on Homer.

Strabo, l. 1. p. 21.

Of the sciences, ASTRONOMY would naturally be among the first to ingage the attention of men. Its objects can neither escape notice, nor fail of exciting wonder; and its utility would quickly become obvious. The means of computing times and seasons, to know when new fruits and fresh harvests might be expected, were among first necessities. The sun, by its apparent daily revolution, gave a division of time perfectly obvious and highly useful; but not affording easy means for proceeding to the computation of seasons. It would soon be observed, even in low latitudes, that the seasons followed the sun's apparent annual revolution; but to calculate that revolution, with any approach to accuracy, was a business not soon to be accomplished. The moon therefore, by the striking and rapid changes in its appearance, was, among the celestial luminaries, the readiest instrument for calculation of time beyond a small number of days; and has accordingly been the first used among all uncultivated people. Hence, and not from any predilection for darkness and gloomy ideäs, to which it has been absurdly enough

[76] See the account of Ulysses' voyage from the iland of Calypso (1). With a fair wind all the way, he was seventeen days out of sight of land.

(1) Odyss. l. 5. v. 270.

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attributed, arose that practice of our Teutonic ancestors, which we still in part retain, of reckoning time by nights rather than by days. It became then the business, through the obvious changes of the moon, to ascertain the less discernible but far more important changes of the sun, which govern the seasons. Twelve revolutions of the inferior were found nearly equal to one of the greater luminary; and three hundred and fifty-four days, or twelve months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, were assigned for the term of a year. This method of computing time seems to have passed from the East into Greece; where it became so established for the purpose of ascertaining the return of days for civil business and religious ceremonies, that, notwithstanding its extreme inconveniences, the more accurate subsequent calculations of the year could never intirely supersede its use. But a year thus deficient by near eleven days and a half of the real period of the earth's revolution round the sun, presently led to so erroneous a computation of seasons, that the husbandman particularly would find it utterly unfit for his purpose. In climates, therefore, where the sky was seldom long obscured by vapors, the stars were soon found far more accurate directors than the moon; while their changes were far more readily distinguished than those of the sun. Accordingly Hesiod, in his Treatise on Husbandry, marks the seasons for various works by the rising and setting of the stars; and we learn from his poems, and from Homer, that, in their early age, the more remarkable stars of our hemisphere were already classed in constellations, nearly in the same manner and by the same names as at this day. Ignorance of astronomy we find mentioned by Æschylus, speaking, in the person of Prometheus, of the

Iliad. l. 18. v. 486. et l. 22. v. 29. Odyss. l. 5. v. 272.

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state of mankind in the first ages, as a mark of the deepest barbarism; and observation of the stars as the first thing necessary to civilized life[77]. In our northern climate, the shortness of the summer-nights and the coldness of the winter, together with the greater frequency of obscuring vapors, make the stars less objects for the husbandman; while the greater variety in the apparent course of the sun, if the exactness with which the year is now divided by more artificial helps did not render it needless, would in a great degree answer the same purpose; and accordingly we still often find among our husbandmen surprizing accuracy in observing the sun. But the people of lower climates, deprived of the pleasant moderation of our summer-days, live, in the hot season, almost only in the night, and thus become astronomers naturally and almost necessarily[78].

The knowlege of the cure of internal diseases made, it should seem, in Homer's age, no part of the science of PHYSIC. It is remarkable that the poet nowhere speaks in plain terms of sickness. Diseases indeed, and mortal ones, are mentioned, but as the effect always of the immediate stroke of the Deïty, and not of anything in the common course of nature. They seem thus to have been

[77] Ἦν δ' οὐδέν αὐτοῖς οὔτε χείματος τέκμαρ,
Οὔτ' ἀνθεμώδους ἦρος, οὔτε καρπίμου
Θέρους βέβαιον· ἀλλ' ἄτερ γνώμης τὸ πᾶν
Ἔπρασσον, ἔστε δή σφιν ἀντολὰς ἐγὼ
Ἄστρων ἔδειξα, καὶ δυσχρίστους δύσεις.
Prometh. Vinct. p. 31. ed. H. Steph.

[78] Præterea tam sunt Arcturi sidera nobis
Hœdorumque dies servandi, et lucidus anguis;
Quam quibus, &c.—Virg. Georg. i. 207.

The learned jesuit Ruæus, the Delphin annotator on Virgil, seems to have been too much of a Parisian to enter into his author's ideas generally in the didactic parts of the Georgics, and he has not known what to make of the reference to the stars as the husbandman's almanac.

esteemed utterly beyond the reach of human skill to relieve. The epidemical sickness of the army before Troy was occasioned by the darts of Apollo, and could be removed only by the prayers of Chrysis. That scanty knowlege of nature to which the age had arrived, was applied only to relieve the effects of external violence upon the human frame. Skill in surgery was in the highest esteem[79]; tho it seems to have gone no farther than to the extraction of the instrument of a wound, and the application of a few simples for stopping hæmorrhages, and assuaging inflammations. Charms and incantations, therefore, were sometimes called to its assistance, or even to supply its place. Ulysses, when very young, being wounded by a wild boar, the hæmorrhage was stopped by incantation[80]. SECT. IV.

SECTION IV.

Of the Manners of the early Greeks.

THE MANNERS of a people receive their tone from a great variety of circumstances; climate; soil; extent of territory; population; religion; government, monarchal or republican, vigorous and permanent, or weak and changeable; system of jurisprudence; administration of justice, ready and certain, or feeble and irregular; science; arts; commerce; communication with strangers. We find accordingly the manners of the Homeric age distinguished from those of following times in Greece, by many charac-

[79] Ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων.
Iliad. l. 11. v. 514.

[80] Ἐπαοιδῇ. Odyss. l. 19. v. 457.

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teristical lines; and we may observe throughout a strong oriental tinge, which afterward very much faded away. Migrations from the East into Greece had ceased before Homer: but the eastern merchants still ingrossed the little commerce of the Grecian towns. Afterward, whether from a republican jealousy of foreiners; whether from a republican industry with increased population; whether from a republican frugality, with the naturally attending disposition to decry forein luxuries; or whether the propensity to piracy among the Greeks, with increased naval strength, deterred commerce, the intercourse between the two countries lessened. The distinguishing features in the Homeric manners are that licentiousness, and that hospitality, together with the union, at first view so strange to us, of the highest dignities with the meanest employments, which have prevailed in the East so remarkably through all ages. These are, however, not the peculiar growth of any soil and climate. The two first are the seldom failing produce of defective government; and the other will everywhere be found in an unimproved state of society. The resemblance borne, till within this century, by the manners of the Highland Scots to those of the Orientals, in these particulars, is striking. But in Greece, tho the ties of blood had such weight with the people among themselves, yet we find nothing of clanship, nothing of that devoted attachment of vassals to the family of a chief, which distinguished many of the Orientals, as well as our northern Highlanders. While the claims of hereditary royalty were established in general opinion, some respect would adhere to the known posterity of a popular leader; but superior personal qualities were always necessary to maintain even the possession of rank and wealth.

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There is a passage in the Odyssee which illustrates remarkably at the same time the government, the morality, and the religion of the age. It was proposed among the suitors of Penelopë to kill her son Telemachus, and divide his property. One only of them hesitated. 'To kill a person of royal race,' he says, 'is no light matter. Let us therefore consult the gods. If the laws of the great Jupiter approve, myself will be among the first both to persuade and to strike the stroke: but, if the gods forbid, I advise to forbear.' The person thus represented seriously expressing doubt whether the foulest murder might not be committed with approbation of the deity, is described of high birth, respectable character, and superior understanding. But murders were so common that, without peculiar circumstances of enormity, they scarcely left a stain upon the character of the perpetrator. Some of the favorite personages of the Iliad and Odyssee, as the author of the Essay on the Original Genius of Homer has observed, had been guilty of this crime, and had fled their country in consequence: not, however, to escape public justice; but to avoid revenge from the relations of the deceased. Private revenge we know was formerly almost the only restraint upon the most atrocious crimes against individuals in our own country, and still more in the rest of western Europe; insomuch that, in the weakness of public justice, private revenge even received the sanction, and was put under the guidance of the law. Hence it was that among the early Greeks, as in general through the East, a numerous progeny was so particularly esteemed a great blessing to parents. A numerous family was always a powerful family: it could do justice to itself; and, if unanimously so inclined, injure others with impunity.

Odyss. 1. 16. v. 398.

Robertson's Charles V.

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But 'cruelty, violence, and oppression,' says the writer just mentioned, who had studied oriental manners from the life, 'are so evidently the result of 'defective government, that it is unnecessary to look 'for any other general cause of the scenes of this 'sort with which Homer abounds, in common with 'other antient writers, and agreeably to the present 'manners of the East. For when every man is in 'great measure judge in his own cause, vices of this 'class are not only more frequent, but less criminal 'than in a civilized state; where the individual 'transfers his resentments to the community, and 'private injury expects redress from public justice. 'Where the legislature does not ingage for our per-'sonal security, we have a right to use such means 'as are in our power to destroy the aggressor who 'would destroy us. In such cases bodily strength 'and courage must decide most contests; while, on 'the other hand, craft, cunning, and surprize, are 'the legitimate weapons of the weak against the 'strong. We accordingly find, that both the an-'tient and the modern history of the East is a con-'tinued scene of bloodshed and treachery.' These very just reflections may teach us to exercise our pity and spare our censure on human nature in such unfortunate circumstances.

'Hospitality,' says the same writer, who had injoyed such peculiar means of information on the subject, 'prevails in most countries, and in the dif-'ferent provinces of each country, very much in 'proportion to the idleness, poverty, and insecurity 'which attend a defective police. It is some con-'solation, in so wretched a state of society, that this 'virtue should be most cultivated where it is most 'wanted. In Arabia, the rights of hospitality, so 'properly called the Point of Honor of the East, are

'the happy substitute of positive law; which in 'some degree supplies the place of justice; con- 'necting, by a voluntary intercourse of good offices, 'those vagabond tribes, who despise legislation, de- 'ny the perfect rights of mankind, and set the civil 'magistrate at defiance. A strong instance of that 'sympathizing principle in the social constitution of 'our own nature, which the wisest government will 'incourage, and which the most depraved cannot 'suppress.' In confirmation of these judicious remarks, we find it established as a principle in Homer, that, 'to those not totally void of the feelings 'of humanity, the guest and the suppliant should be 'as a near relation:' and he gives them a divine right to kind treatment, 'the stranger,' he says, 'and 'the poor are from Jove.' The liberties taken by suppliant strangers, and the confidence reposed in them, were consonant to these principles. Ulysses, saved alone from shipwreck on an unknown coast, goes without introduction to the palace of the king of the country, which is represented as singularly rich and splendid, enters the apartments, and finding the king and queen at supper, with the principal nobles, abruptly addresses his supplication to the queen. Not only kindness but honor is immediately shown to him; he is lodged in the palace; and next day the king, recommending him to favor in an assembly of the people, declares at the same time that he knows not who he is. It seems, indeed, to have been a general point of civility not hastily to ask any stranger who he was. Telemachus and Mentor, landing in the port of Pylus, find the venerable Nestor, prince of the country, with the assembled Pylian people, on the shore, in the midst of the ceremony of a magnificent public sacrifice. The strangers are no sooner perceived approaching, than

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Odyss. l. 8. v. 547.

Odyss. l. 6. v. 208. & l. 14. v. 58. vid. & l. 8. v. 392. & l. 15. v. 280. l. 7.

Odyss. l. 3. v. 4.

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the Pylians crowd to meet them, salute in terms of friendship, and invite them to partake of the feast which always followed a sacrifice, and which indeed seems to have been an essential part of the ceremony. They were, however, not left to the civility of the multitude: Peisistratus, son of Nestor, advancing before the rest, took them by the hand, and placed them at table by his royal father and his elder brother. When the meal was over, Nestor spoke in these remarkable terms: 'Now the strangers have eaten to their satisfaction, it will be proper to ask them who they are, and whence they come. Strangers, who are you, and whence come you, navigating the watery ways? Is it for any business, or do you roam at large, as pirates over the sea; those who wander, risking their own lives, and bringing evil upon others?' Thucydides, than whom none could be better qualified to judge, believed this to be a faithful picture of the manners of his ancestors; and he observes upon it, that Nestor's question was in the common way of inquiry, and not at all implying doubt whether the strangers were worthy of his hospitality, or fit company for his table, tho they might be pirates. Telemachus and Peisistratus afterward, going as hereditary guests, but not personally known, to Menelaüs king of Sparta, neither announce themselves, nor does any one inquire who they are. The king, only informed by one of his household that unknown strangers, just arrived in a chariot, are waiting without, expresses displeasure at the mention of a doubt whether they were to be treated in the palace, or provided elsewhere; orders that they should be immediately introduced into the hall, where he was sitting at a public supper with his court, places them by himself at table, and then tells them that, after

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 5.

Odyss. l. 4. v. 1.

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they have supped, he will ask them who they are, and whence they came. In the same manner, in a former part of the poem, Telemachus himself is represented expressing indignation at the least delay of civility to a stranger whom he observes at the gate of his father's palace: goes out himself to receive him, and tells him that he shall first sup, and then declare his errand[81]. From these offices of hospitality, once performed, new and still more sacred rights arose, which did not expire with the persons who gave origin to them, but descended to all the posterity of either party. A man was peculiarly bound to show kindness to a hereditary guest; to one who had entertained any of his ancestors, or who had been entertained by them.

Odyss. l. 1. v. 119.

Iliad. l. 6. v. 215. & al.

How necessary this generous point of honor was to alleviate the miseries to which mankind, in that unsettled state of law and government, were liable, we may gather from many lively and affecting pictures scattered through Homer's poems[82]. Beside the general incompetency of governments to secure internal order, the best regulated were in perpetual danger of ruin from forein enemies; and this ruin was cruel, was complete. 'These are the evils,' we are told in the Iliad, 'that follow the capture of a 'town: the men are killed; the city is burned to

l. 9. v. 590.

[81] The manners of chivalry had many things congenial with those of heroïc times. Shakespear is scarcely copying Homer when he makes Belarius thus address Imogen, wandering in the disguise of a boy:

- - - - - - - - - - - Fair youth, come in:
Discourse is heavy, fasting: when we've supped,
We'll mannerly demand thee of thy story.
Cymbeline, act 3.

[82] There is a remarkable one, evidently taken from the poet's own age, in a similë in the 18th book of the Iliad, v. 207. See also Andramachë's speech, Iliad, b. 22. v. 487; and Nestor's account of his maroding expedition into Eleia, Il. b. 11. v. 670.

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'the ground; the women and children of all ranks 'are carried off for slaves.' 'Wretch that I am,' says the venerable Priam, 'what evil does the great 'Jupiter bring on me in my old age! My sons slain, 'my daughters dragged into slavery; violence per- 'vading even the chambers of my palace; and the 'very infants dashed against the ground in horrid 'sport of war. I myself, slain in the vain office of 'defence, shall be the prey of my own dogs, per- 'haps in my very palace-gates!'

Iliad. l. 22. v. 60.

Where such was war, the manners of warriors, even of the noblest characters, could not be without stains of barbarism and illiberality. We find, in the Iliad, men of highest rank, meeting in battle, address each other in language the most grossly insulting: they threaten, they revile, and sometimes jest in a very unseemly manner on the misfortunes of their adversaries. 'You whom the Greeks so honor 'above others,' says Hector to Diomed, 'are no bet- 'ter than a woman. Go, wretch!' Then follows the reason of this personal anger: 'You think to 'storm our city, and carry off our women in your 'ships.' After this the added threat will not appear unreasonable. 'My arm,' continues Hector, 'shall 'first send you to the infernal deïties.' With minds thus heated, and manners thus roughened, it is no wonder if we find chiefs of the same nation and army use great illiberality of language one to another. Of this, not to mention a dispute so extreme as that between Agamemnon and Achilles, Hector in a speech to Polydamas, and Oïlean Ajax to Idomeneus, afford remarkable examples.

l. 8. v. 161.

l. 12. v. 247.

l. 23. v. 473.

It was little usual to give quarter. 'Why so ten- 'der-hearted?' says Agamemnon to Menelaüs, seeing him hesitate while a Trojan of high rank, who had the misfortune to be disabled by being thrown

l. 6. v 55.

from his chariot, was begging for life: 'Are you 'and your house so beholden to the Trojans? Let 'not one of them escape destruction from our 'hands; no, not the child within his mother's womb. 'Let all perish unmourned; let not a vestige of them 'be seen remaining.' The poet gives the sanction of his own approbation to this inhumanity, in a prince by no means generally characterized inhuman: 'It was justly spoken,' says Homer; 'and 'he turned his brother's mind.' Menelaüs, accordingly, pushed away the noble suppliant, and the king of men himself was the executioner who put the unresisting wretch to death. Hector, in whom we find so many amiable qualities, was not less infected with this barbarous spirit of his age. When he had killed Patroclus, and stripped him on the spot of his rich armor, he postponed the most pressing and most important concerns, equally his own and his country's, to the gratification of weak revenge; losing sight of all the greater objects of battle, while he struggled for the naked corse, with intention to complete its contumely by giving it to be devoured by Trojan dogs; and to make his vengeance lasting by depriving it of those funeral rites which, in the opinion of the times, were necessary to the repose of souls after death. We must not therefore wonder that the common Greeks should delight in wounding the dead body of Hector himself, when he was soon after slain; nor ought we to attribute peculiar ferocity to the character of Achilles, for the indignities with which he treated it; since both the morality and the religion of his age, far from condemning such conduct, evidently taught him to consider it as directed, not indeed by humanity, but by social affection, and inforced by that piety, such as it was, which the gods of his country

Iliad. l. 17. v. 125.

l. 22. v. 375.

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required. When the unfortunate monarch of Troy came afterward, in person, to beg the body of his heroïc son, we find the conduct of Achilles marked by a superior spirit of generous humanity. Yet in the very act of granting the pious request, he doubts if he is quite excusable to the soul of his departed friend, for remitting the extremity of vengeance which he had meditated, and restoring the corse to receive the rites of burial. Agreeably to this cruel spirit of warfare, the token of victory was the head of the principal person of the vanquished slain, fixed on a post. The milder temper of a more civilized age abolished this custom, and it became usual for the conqueror to suspend only a suit of armor on a post; which, thus adorned, was termed a Trophy. Perhaps fire-arms have contributed to humanize war. The most cruel strokes to individuals are now generally in a great measure the result of chance; for it seldom can be ascertained from what hand precisely they come, and revenge thus wants its object. Other favorable circumstances it is true have assisted; but this, it may fairly be presumed, has had its share in making revenge alien to modern warfare.

Iliad. 1. 24. v. 592.

1. 18. v. 176.

While such were the horrors of war, continually threatening, not frontier provinces of extensive realms, but every man's door, we may wonder at any progress that civility and the arts of peace had made among mankind; that wealth, grandeur, elegance, or almost anything beyond meer necessaries of life, were thought worth any pains to acquire. But, amid the alarms of violence and oppression, the spirit of hospitality, so generally diffused, often alleviated misfortune; and, even in the crash of nations, many individuals, if they could save only their lives from the general ruin, were at no loss for resources. This extensive communication of the rights of hospitality

was of powerful effect to humanize a savage people, to excite a relish for elegance in style of living, and to make the more refined joys of society more eagerly sought, as well as more easily obtained. There was in Homer's time great difference in the possessions of individuals; some had large tracts of land with numerous herds and flocks; others had none. This state of things is generally favorable to the arts; a few, who have a superabundance of wealth, being better able, and generally more willing to incourage them than numbers who have only a competency. The communication of the rights of hospitality would also assist towards the preservation of property to those families which had once acquired it. A sort of association was thus formed, which in some degree supplied the want of a regular administration of law. Without some security thus derived we scarcely should have found distinction of rank so strongly marked as it is in Homer. A man of rank, it appears, might be known by his gait and manners, under every disguise of a mean habit and mean employment. This could never be without a wide distinction existing through successive generations. A youth is described, elegant in his dress, and delicate in his person; 'such,' says the poet, 'as the sons of prin- 'ces usually are.' It is remarkable that the youth, thus described, was in the employment of a shepherd. Strength, however, and activity always go to the description of Homer's men of rank: but luxury, such as it was in those days, never is mentioned as unbecoming a hero; tho it was more particularly the privilege of the aged[88]. The wealthy,

Odyss. l. 13. v. 223.

[88] The speech of Ulysses, himself in disguise, to his father Laertes, digging in his garden, is remarkable:

Οὐδέ τί τοι δούλειον ἐπιπρέπει εἰσοράασθαι
Εἶδος καὶ μέγεθος· βασιλῇ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας.

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as we have already observed, had houses of freestone, spacious, and with many apartments on different floors; and we find all the offices to be expected in a great family performed with much regularity[84]. The directions which Penelopë's housekeeper gives to the menial servants, for the business of the day, might still serve in the East without variation: 'Go quickly,' she said, 'some of you sweep the house, 'and sprinkle it; and let the crimson carpets be 'spred upon the seats; let all the tables be well 'rubbed with sponges, and wash carefully the bowls 'and the cups. Some of you go immediately to the 'fountain for water.' No less than twenty went on this errand. The whole number of maid-servants were fifty; not, however, all employed in household business; for we find fifty also forming the establishment of Alcinoüs; of whom, 'some,' says the poet, 'ground at the mill,' (an employment of great 'labor, while handmills alone were in use) 'and 'some turned the spindle, or threw the shuttle.'

Odyss. l. 20. v. 149.

l. 22. v. 421.

Τοιούτῳ δὲ ἔοικας, ἐπεὶ λούσαιτο φάγοι τε,
Εὐδέμεναι μαλακῶς· ἡ γὰρ δίκη ἐσὶ γερόντων.
Odyss. l. 24. v. 254.

The commentators have observed a difficulty in this passage; but it is only a grammatical difficulty; the sense seems sufficiently obvious, yet the passage is scarcely to be translated with more exactness than we find in Pope's version, in which however the characteristical word μέγεθος, remains unnoticed; and the term monarch is used for βασιλεὺς, which is not intended here for so strict a sense, being put as a general term for a nobleman, or man of high rank:—

Nor speaks thy form a mean or servile mind.
I read a monarch in that princely air;
The same thy aspect, if the same thy care.
Soft sleep, fair garments, and the joys of wine,
These are the rights of age, and should be thine.
Pope's Odyss. b. 24. v. 301.

[84] See the reception of Telemachus at Pylus and at Sparta, in the 3d and 4th books of the Odyssee; as well as the conduct of Ulysses' household, in various parts of the poem.

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Men-servants waited at meals; and those of Ulysses' household are described as comely youths, handsomely clothed, and always neat in their appearance. Servants of both sexes seem to have been all slaves.

It appears, indeed, as we have already remarked, that since the age of Hercules and Theseus, considerable progress had been made in establishing the powers of government over Peloponnesus at least, and giving security to the country. No apprehension of such dangers as Theseus found in the way from Trœzen to Athens, is mentioned in the account of Telemachus's journey from Pylus to Sparta. Without attendants, Telemachus and Peisistratus set out in a chariot drawn by two horses. They carry with them provisions for the day. In the evening they arrive at Pheræ, where they are entertained by Diocles, a chief of the country. The next evening they arrive at Sparta; and their return affords no more variety of story.

Odyss. l. 15. v. 332.

Homer has left us many pictures of his heroes in their hours of relaxation, with the goblet circulating. It has indeed been very antiently observed, that he shows himself strongly disposed to social and convivial injoyment. Horace has aggravated the remark into a reproach[85]. Yet, allowing for the peculiarities of the manners of the heroïc ages, most of which are still found in the East, there is great elegance in Homer's convivial meetings. Once he makes express mention of drunkenness: but the anecdote forms a strong lesson to deter from that vice; showing, by a terrible example, that persons of highest rank and most respectable character, if they yield to intemperance, reduce themselves for

Odyss. l. 21. v. 295. See note 20, p. 38, of this volume.

[85] Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus.
Horat. v. 6. Epist. 19. l. 1.

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the time to a level with the lowest and most profligate, and are liable to every indignity. But, at the feasts of the great, the song of the bard seldom failed to make a principal part of the entertainment. The bard indeed seems to have been a person of importance in the household establishment of every wealthy chief. His knowlege and memory, in the deficiency of books, were to supply the place of a library: his skill in music and poetry was to convey instruction in the most agreeable manner, and inform even when pleasure was the only apparent object. In one instance Homer attributes extraordinary authority to the bard. Ægistheus could not accomplish his purpose of possessing himself of the person of Clytemnestra and the principal sway in the Argian government, till he had removed the bard, whom Agamemnon had appointed to be chief counsellor to the queen in his absence.

Odyssee. l. 8. v. 62. vid. & l. 1. v. 153. l. 4. v. 17. l. 22. v. 330. & l. 23. v. 133.

Strabo. l. 1. p. 15, 16.

Odyssee, l. 3. v. 263.

Women, in the Homeric age, injoyed more freedom, and communicated more in business and amusement among men, than in after ages has been usual in those eastern countries; far more than at Athens in the florishing times of the commonwealth. In the Iliad we find Helen and Andromachë frequently appearing in company with the Trojan chiefs, and entering freely into the conversation. Attended only by one or two maid-servants, they walk through the streets of Troy as business or fancy lead them. Penelopë, persecuted as she is by her suitors, does not scruple occasionally to show herself among them; and scarcely more reserve seems to have been imposed on virgins than on married women. Equally indeed Homer's elegant eulogies and Hesiod's severe sarcasm prove women to have been in their days important members of society. The character of Penelopë, in the Odyssee, is

Odyssee, l. 8. v. 457. Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 373. & Theog. v. 570.

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the completest panegyric on the sex that ever was composed; and no language can give a more elegant or a more highly-colored picture of conjugal affection than is displayed in the conversation between Hector and Andromachë in the sixth book of the Iliad. Even Helen, in spite of her failings, and independently of her beauty, steals upon our hearts, in Homer's description, by the modesty of her deportment and the elegance of her manners. On all occasions, indeed, Homer shows a disposition to favor the sex: civility and attention to them he attributes most particularly to his greatest characters, to Achilles, and still more remarkably to Hector. The infinite variety of his subjects, and the historical nature of his poems, led him necessarily to speak of bad women: but even when the black deed of Clytemnestra calls for his severest reprobation, still his delicacy toward the sex leads him to mention it in a manner that might tend to guard against that reproach, which would be liable to involve all for the wickedness of one[86]. With some things of course

Iliad. l. 9. v. 340. & l. 24. v. 762.

[86] Pope, who was as little disposed to favor the sex as he was formed to be favored by them, has remarkably extended and aggravated his author's invective in translating the speech of the injured Agamemnon to Ulysses in the Elysian Fields:

- - - - - - - - - 'Η δ' ἔξοχα λύγρ' εἰδυῖα,
Ἥτε κατ' αἶσχος ἔχευε, καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ὀπίσσω
Θηλυτέροισι γυναιξί, καὶ ἥ κ' εὐεργὸς ἔῃσιν.

Odyss. l. 11. v. 433.

The meaning is simply this: 'Clytemnestra's wickedness has 'been so extreme, that it will communicate infamy to woman-'kind through all futurity: even the good will not escape re-'proach for it.' But in the translation which Pope either made or adopted, Agamemnon pronounces the whole sex perjured, and doubts if a single virtuous woman will ever be found:

- - - - - - 'Thy deeds,' he says, 'disgrace
The perjured sex, and blacken all the race;
And should posterity one virtuous find,
Name Clytemnestra, they will curse the kind.'

Pope's Odyss. b. 11. v. 540

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widely differing from what prevails in distant climates and distant ages, we yet find in general the most perfect decency, and even elegance, of manners in Homer's descriptions of the intercourse of men and women. Helen's conversations on the walls of Troy, in the Iliad, and in her court at Sparta, in the Odyssee, afford remarkable examples. One office of civility, indeed, which we find usually performed by women in the heroïc age, may excite our wonder: the business of attending men in bathing seems to have been peculiar to women; and, in compliment to men of rank, was performed by virgins of the highest rank. When Telemachus visited Nestor at Pylus, the office of washing and clothing him was assigned to the beautiful Polycastë, the virgin daughter of the venerable monarch. When Ulysses appeared as an unknown stranger in his own palace, the queen Penelopë, uninformed who or what he was, meerly in pursuance of the common

Another strong instance of this turn in Pope, and where he has gone more out of his way to show it, occurs in his note to the 450th verse of his translation of the ninth book of the Iliad. A strong instance of the contrary disposition in Homer, with proof that it remained to him in blindness, and probably in old age, appears in a beautiful and affecting address to the virgins who attended the festival at Delos, for which the Hymn to Apollo has been composed; and the passage is authenticated by Thucydides:

Χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι· ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε
Μνήσασθ', ὁππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
Ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται, ξείνος ταλαπείριος ἐλθών
Ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὔμμιν ἀνὴρ ἡδιστος ἀοιδῶν
Ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέῳ τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;
Ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθε ἀφήμως,
Τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἐνὶ παιπαλοέσσῃ.

Thucyd. l. 3. c. 104.

'Virgins, joy attend you all! Remember me hereafter: and 'when any stranger from afar coming here shall ask, O Virgins, who is the sweetest poet that attends your festival, and 'with whom are you most delighted? do you all kindly answer, 'with one applauding voice, Our favorite is the Blind Man, who, 'lives in rocky Chios.'

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ceremonies of hospitality, directed her young maids to attend him to the bath. Ulysses refused the honor, and desired an old woman; but the poet seems to have thought it necessary that he should apologize very particularly for such a singularity. Repugnant as these circumstances appear to common notions of eastern jealousy, yet customs not absolutely dissimilar are still found among the Arabs. Indeed the general sentiments of the Turks toward the female sex are a strange compound of the grossest sensuality with the most scrupulous decency. For the credit of Homer, and of his age, it should be observed that, among all his variety of pictures of human passion, not a hint occurs of that unnatural sensuality which afterward so disgraced Grecian manners.

Odyssee, l. 19. v. 317.

Ives's Journey across the Desert. Sir James Porter's Observations on the Religion, Laws, &c. of the Turks.

It was customary in the heroïc age, as indeed at all times in Greece, for ladies of highest rank to employ themselves in spinning and needlework, and in at least directing the business of the loom; which was carried on, as till lately in the highlands of Scotland, for every family within itself. It was praise equally for a slave and a princess to be skilful in works of this kind. In Homer's time, washing also was employment for ladies. The princess Nausicaa, the young and beautiful daughter of the opulent king of Phæacia, a country famed more for luxury than industry, went with her maids, in a carriage drawn by mules, to a fountain in a sequestered spot at some distance from the city, to wash the clothes of the family.

It is matter of no small curiosity to compare the manners and principles of the heroïc age of Greece with those of our Teutonic ancestors. There are strong lines of resemblance, and there are strong characteristical touches by which they stand distinguished. Greece was a country holding out to its

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possessors every delight of which humanity is capable; but where, through the inefficiency of law, the instability of governments, and the character of the times, happiness was extremely precarious, and the change frequent from the height of bliss to the depth of misery. Hence, rather than from his natural temper, Homer seems to have derived a melancholy tinge widely diffused over his poems[86]. He frequently adverts, in general reflections, to the miseries of mankind. That earth nourishes no animal more miserable than man, is a remark which he puts into the mouth of Jupiter himself. His common epithet for war and battle is 'tearful[87].' With the northern bards, on the contrary, war and battle were subjects of highest joy and merriment: and this ideä was supported in fact, we are well assured, to a most extraordinary degree. Yet there was more generosity and less cruelty in the Gothic spirit of war than in the Grecian. Whence this arose; what circumstances gave the weaker sex so much more consequence among the Teutonic nations than among the Greeks; how the spirit of gallantry, so little known to this elegant and polished people, should arise and gain such universal influence among the fierce unlettered savages of the North; that gallantry which, with many fantastical and some mischievous effects, has produced many highly salutary and honorable to mankind; will probably ever remain equally a mystery in the history of man, as why perfection in the sciences and every elegant art should be confined to the little territory of Greece, and to those nations which have derived it thence.

Iliad. l. 17. v. 447.

Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

Robertson's Charles V.

[86] See particularly in the Odyssee, b. 4. v. 93. b. 8. v. 523. b. 11. v. 620. b. 18. v. 129.

[87] Πόλεμος δακρυόεις, Iliad. l. 8. v. 388.
Μάχη δακρυοέσσα, Iliad. l. 13. v. 765.

CHAPTER III.

History of Greece from the Trojan War to the Return of the Heracleids; and of the Grecian Oracles, the Council of Amphictyons, and the Olympian Games.

SECTION I.

Restoration of Orestes to the Throne of Argos. Conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians under the Heracleids, commonly called the Return of the Heracleids. Distinction of the Greek Nation into Ionic, Æolic, Attic, Doric.

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Taking Homer as our faithful guide for the history of this early age, we may conclude that no great revolution, nothing of any extensive consequence, happened in Greece, after the troubles insuing from the Trojan war had subsided, to the time when he composed his poems. The most important events which he has recorded, posterior to the return of the Greeks from Troy, relate to the kingdom of Argos. Orestes, son of Agamemnon, after living seven years in exile at Athens, in the eighth found means to revenge his father's death and recover his inheritance. He killed the usurper Ægistheus; and his guilty mother Clytemnestra perished in the tumult. Mounting then the throne of Argos, he became a very powerful prince, and reigned with great reputation. Here the history of Homer ends; and the manner in which these events are mentioned by him appears strongly to indicate that the period

Odyssee, l. 1. v. 29. & 298. l. 3. v. 196. & 303. & l. 24. v. 33.

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of his life would not admit of his tracing history much farther[1].

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 12.

It was, according to Thucydides, (whose simple affirmation carries more authority than that of any other writer, and upon this occasion has been universally followed) about eighty years after the destruction of Troy that a great revolution happened, which changed the population of a large part of Greece, and in its consequences, that of a long extent of the western coast of Asia Minor. The children and partizans of the great Hercules had been invited from Athens, their first place of refuge from the persecution of Eurystheus king of Argos, to settle in Doris. Æpalius, chief of that province, in gratitude for important favors received from Hercules, is said to have adopted Hyllus, eldest son of that hero, by Deïaneira, daughter of Œneus king of Ætolia, and to have bequeathed his principality to him. Thus fortunately raised from the condition of suppliant exiles to that of soverein princes, the posterity of Hercules were, however, not to be satisfied with a scanty command over herdmen among the wilds of Œta and Parnassus. Esteeming themselves direct heirs of the family of Perseus, they never ceased to claim the dominion of Peloponnesus, and particularly of Argos, of which the superior policy and fortune of the family of Pelops had deprived them. Twice penetrating through the isthmus, they were compelled to retreat with loss. But at length Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, said to be great-grandson's of Hyllus, associating Oxylus, an Ætolian chieftain, their kinsman, crossed the Co-

Strabo, l. 9. p. 427.

B. C. 824. N. 1104. B. Herodot. l. 9. c. 26.

[1] His residence, after he was become blind, as he says himself in those lines of the Hymn to Apollo which have the testimony of Thucydides to their authenticity, was in the iland of Chios. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 104.

rinthian gulph from Naupactus, at the head of an army, with which, excepting the mountainous province of Arcadia, they overran the whole peninsula. Tisamenus, son of Orestes, forced from Argolis and Laconia, made however a stand in Ægialeia; and maintaining himself there, the country acquired from his followers the name of Achaia. Of the rest the Heracleids became complete masters. Temenus took possession of Argos, Cresphontes of Messenia, and, Aristodemus dying, his twin-sons Eurysthenes and Procles were made joint kings of Lacedæmon: Corinth was given to Aletes, also a descendant of Hercules, and Eleia was allotted to Oxylus. Sicyon and Phlius were afterward added to the Argian dominion; the former by Phalces, son of Temenus; the other by Rhegnidas, son of Phalces.

SECT. I.

Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 683. t. 2. Pausan. l. 2. c. 18. Herodot. l. 6. c. 52. Polyb. l. 2. p. 178. Strabo, l. 8. p. 383. Pausan. l. 5. c. 1. Pausan. l. 2. c. 6. & 13.

Of the particulars of this important revolution, the struggles likely to be maintained by princes so established in their possessions as the Pelopids, and so connected by various ties of consanguinity and political interest, or the causes why little struggle was made, scarcely any information remains to us. It appears, indeed, that the Heracleid chiefs had interest within the Peninsula: for, as we are informed by Strabo, Laconia was betrayed to them. They seem also, in their outset, to have judiciously disclaimed all hostile intention against the people of Peloponnesus, professing that their aim was only to recover their rights from princes who had usurped them. Farther than this even Pausanias was unable to gather. Nor are we more informed of the time employed in the conquest. But that the conquest was in the end complete, and that an entire revolution took place, not only in the government, but in the population also of the whole peninsula, except Arcadia, are facts amply authenticated. As soon as

Strabo, l. 8. p. 365. Pausan. l. 2. c. 13.

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the division of the conquered country was agreed upon, the Heracleid princes, binding themselves by solemn oaths mutually to support one another in their respective allotments, exacted ingagements upon oath to the same purpose from all their subjects. But their Dorian and Ætolian followers had not conquered rich and extensive provinces for others, to return themselves to their pristine poverty upon their native mountains. It was, perhaps, a necessary policy to reward them with establishments in the newly acquired territories. A general oppression of the old inhabitants followed: great numbers emigrated: the rest were mostly reduced to slavery; and in the end the Heracleids, and their immediate partizans, remained sole lords of the soil throughout Peloponnesus, excepting Arcadia and Achaia.

Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 683. t. 2.

Isocrat. Panathen.

This great change in the population of Greece, and the importance which the Dorian name acquired by it, among other consequences, occasioned a new distinction of the Grecian people, and brought forward to public attention some old ones, which in the time of Homer and Hesiod appear to have been little noticed. Concerning the hords who in earliest times occupied Greece under various names, Dryopes, Caucones, Aones, Leleges, Pelasgians, and others, the diligent and judicious Strabo seems to have been unable to discover how far they were different people. They seem all to have spoken one language: for, in the civilized ages, no trace or memory of a dialect not Grecian was to be found in any, the most mountainous part of the country. They appear also to have been much intermixed; but the Pelasgian name prevailed on the continent, and the Lelegian in the ilands; the former including, at one time, as Herodotus assures us, all people of Grecian race.

Strabo, l. 5. p. 220. l. 7. p. 321. & 322. l. 9. p. 401.

Herodot. l. 7. c. 95.

SECT. I.

The Athenians and Arcadians, in whose country, within reach of tradition, there had never been any complete change of population, continued always to refer their origin, in part at least, to the Pelasgians. Revolutions, depriving the other Greeks of means to trace their ancestry so high, gave them at the same time new eras whence to begin their account of themselves, in consequence of which the old fell more readily into oblivion. The Pelasgian name thus grew obsolete at an early period, and the Greek nation became distinguished into two hords, called Ionian and Æolian. Yet neither have we any certain information how this distinction arose; tho tradition mentions Æolus and Dorus, sons of Hellen the son of Deucalion, and Ion and Achæus, sons of Xuthus, another son of Hellen, as the patriarchs of the Grecian people, from whom the appellations of their principal divisions were derived. The history of these princes, however, is uncertain in extreme; and tradition of better authority gives reason to suppose that the appellations had another and an earlier origin. Before the return of the Heracleids the Achaian name was common to all the Peloponnesians. The Ionian name had been still more comprehensive; having included the Achaians and the Bœotians, who, together with those to whom it was afterward confined, would make nearly the whole of the Greek nation; and among the Orientals it was always the general name for the Greeks.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 56. & l. 8. c. 44.

Strabo, l. 8. p. 333.

l. 8. p. 383.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 56. & l. 7. c. 94.

Homer. & Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 684. Hesych. ad voc. Ἴωνες & Ἴαονα.

But whatever may have been originally the distinction of the Grecian hords, it became, in the course of ages, more than nominal; since, tho their settlements were intermixed, and their language fundamentally one, each people preserved its peculiar dialect. Attica was considered as the original settlement of the Ionians: its antient inhabitants were

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usually distinguished by that name; and the country was called Ionia. Colonies migrating thence into Peloponnesus, occupied the province afterward named Achaia, but previously Ægialos and Ægialeia; and the Ionian colonists were called Ægialian Pelasgians. The people of the rest of Greece, within and without the isthmus, were esteemed of the Æolian hord: yet, according to Pausanias, the dialect of Argos, before the return of the Heracleids, was the same as the antient Attic. Of the farther division, however, of the Grecian people, which afterward arose, we have from Strabo a clear account. The inhabitants of the mountainous tract about Parnassus, under the name of Dorians, who, according to Herodotus, had migrated thither from Thessaly, were, like the antient Atticans, from the barrenness of their country, and their consequent poverty, little subject to invasion; and thus, while the other Æolians, from their frequent revolutions and intermixture with foreiners, acquired a new dialect, the Dorians alone retained their manners and language unaltered. When under the Heracleids they became masters of Peloponnesus, the former inhabitants were mostly either expelled or reduced to slavery; excepting those who under Tisamenus maintained themselves in Achaia, and the Arcadians, who, with their mountains, preserved their freedom. The exiles passed to Asia Minor, and overpowering there the Asiatics, as they had been themselves overpowered by the Dorians, they established colonies all along the western coast of that country. Four distinctions of the Grecian people now arose out of the original two. The Dorian name prevailed in all the establishments of the Heracleids, and was preserved by all the colonies founded by their descendants, in Asia, Italy, Sicily, and wheresoever else. The

Hom. Il. l. 2. v. 575.

Herodot. l. 7. c. 94.

Pausan. l. 2. c. 37.

Strabo. l. 8. p. 383.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 56.

Isocrat. Panathen. Strab. l. 8. p. 364, 365.

Strabo, l. 8. p. 333.

Athenians also rose to such preëminence above all other people of Ionian race, that their name likewise prevailed over that of their hord; and thus the two original dialects of the Grecian language acquired the new names of Doric and Attic, while the two other principal dialects, which various circumstances had contributed to alter, retained the antient appellations of Æolic and Ionic. But all the Greeks without the isthmus, except the Athenians and Megarians, claimed Æolian origin. The Megarians, tho of Æolian race, yet being a Dorian colony from Peloponnesus, chose to retain the distinction of the Doric name. The Ionian name was rejected in Greece, and retained only by those Ionians who migrated into Asia and the ilands; and to them the dialect called Ionic was peculiar.

SECT. I.

Strabo, l. 8. p. 392. 393.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 143.

SECTION II.

Origin and Progress of Oracles.

THE history of a people divided, like the Greeks, into many little states, each exercising complete sovereinty within its own territory, cannot be traced in so connected a manner as that of those nations whose parts are united under one system of government. Historians have therefore found it convenient, after giving a summary account of the remoter ages, to select two commonwealths, Athens and Lacedæmon, as main channels in which their narrative should run; contenting themselves with but occasionally relating the more important transactions of the rest. While the same method is followed here, equally from necessity and choice, the business

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of the historian, it should seem, were very incompletely executed should he omit to investigate, with some accuracy, the circumstances which principally contributed to keep so many independent and eternally warring states, without any express league, and often without any very obvious common interest, still in some measure united, still always to esteem themselves one people, so as to acquire (for they had them not in the early periods of their history) singularly strong lines of distinction from all the rest of mankind.

Tho, among the consequences of the great revolution affected by the Heracleids, a separation in national pride, opposition in national prejudices, and even national antipathies, might be liable to arise among the Grecian people, the Dorians yet fortunately brought with them, from their former country, habits, opinions, and attachments, not only tending to correct the mischievous effects of political jealousies among the several independent states which they established in Peloponnesus, but also to preserve and even increase the intercourse, and strengthen the connection with the rest of Greece. The province of Doris was chiefly composed of the northern branches of the lofty ridge of Parnassus, at the southern end of which Delphi was situated. The oracle of that place had been for some time increasing in reputation among the people of the neighboring provinces; and it was not without the encouragement of some responses, which admitted a favorable interpretation, that the Heracleids had engaged in their enterprize. Their full success therefore could not fail to extend the fame and increase the credit of the oracle. The great bond indeed that first united, and afterward for ages principally held the Greeks together, was their religion; of the

Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 686.

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early state of which, and some principal circumstance in its rise and progress, from among those which can be sufficiently ascertained for history, it has been already endevored to give an account. Some inquiry will now be necessary concerning those reputed means of regular communication with the deïty, less known in earlier times, but which, in the period to which we are approaching, became political engines of singular force, and had their effect on almost every important occurrence. It were indeed a very vain attempt to pursue, through all its intricacies, the history of institutions founded upon ignorance, and raised by deceit, at an age far beyond the reach of written memorials; and ever afterward, during their existence through many centuries, covered from common observation with the utmost caution of interested ingenuity favored by political power. But as the subject is both curious in itself, and important to the history before us, it shall be endevored here to reduce under one point of view, what can be collected from antient writers, principally tending to illustrate the early circumstances of oracles.

Superstition was formed into a system in Egypt at an age prior to our first accounts of it. Vast temples were built, innumerable ceremonies established; the same body, forming the hereditary priesthood and the nobility of the nation, directed with a high hand the belief and consciences of the people; and prophecy was not only among their pretensions, but perhaps the most indispensable part of their office. We have already had occasion to remark how usual it was with the Phenician traders, then the general carriers of the Mediterranean, to steal women. It happened that the master of a

Herodot. l. 2. c. 24.

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Phenician vessel carried off a woman-attendant of the temple of Jupiter at Thebes on the Nile, and sold her in Thesprotia; a mountainous tract in the north-western part of Epirus, bordering on the Illyrian hords. Reduced thus unhappily to slavery among barbarians, the woman however soon became sensible of the superiority which her education in a more civilized country gave her over them; and she conceived hopes of mending her condition, by practising upon their ignorance what she had acquired of those arts which, in able hands, imposed upon a more inlightened people. She gave out, that she possessed all the powers of prophecy to which the Egyptian priests pretended; that she could discover present secrets and foretel future events. Her pretensions excited curiosity: she chose her station under the shade of a spreding oak, where, in the name of the god Jupiter, she delivered answers to numbers who came to consult her; and shortly her reputation, as a prophetess, extended as far as the people of the country themselves communicated. These simple circumstances of her story were afterward, according to the genius of those ages, turned into a fable, which was commonly told, in the time of Herodotus, by the Dodonæan priests. A black pigeon, they said, flew from Thebes in Egypt to Dodona, and perching upon an oak, proclaimed with human voice, 'That 'an oracle of Jupiter should be established there[2].'

[2] Homer, (Odyssee, 14. 328. & 19. 297.) Æschylus, (Prometh. Vinct. v. 827.) Plato, (Phædrus, p. 275. t. 3.) and Strabo, (l. 5. p. 328.) call the prophetic tree Δρῦς.—Hesiod, (as quoted by the Scholiast upon the Trachiniæ of Sophocles, v. 1174.) Herodotus, l. 2. c. 55. and Lucian, (Dial. Micyll. & Gall.) call it Φηγὸς. I do not suppose any contradiction between them; because I take Δρῦς to have been a generic name, and Φηγὸς a species. See note 8, in the first section of the first chapter of this History.

The Dodonæans, concluding that a divinity spoke through the agency of the pigeon, obeyed the mandate, and the oracle was established. The historian accounts for the fiction thus: The woman, on her arrival, speaking in a forein dialect, the Dodonæans said she spoke like a pigeon: but afterward, when she had acquired the Grecian speech and accent, they said the pigeon, who from her darker complexion was called the black pigeon, now spoke with a human voice. The trade of prophecy being both easy and lucrative, the office of the prophetess was readily supplied both with associates and successors. A temple for the deity, and habitations for his ministers were built; and thus, according to the evidently honest, and apparently well-founded and judicious account of Herodotus, arose the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona, the very place where tradition, still remaining to the days of that writer, testified that sacrifices had formerly been performed only to the Nameless God.

In consequence probably of the success of Dodona, oracles were, in remote ages, attempted in various places[3]. Olympia, as we learn from Strabo, be-

[3] The learned M. Hardion, in his first Dissertation on the Oracle of Delphi, (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.) undertakes to prove from Herodotus himself, that Herodotus is wrong in asserting the Dodonæan oracle to have been the oldest in Greece. But the whole of his argument rests on a supposition that the Pelasgians, founders of the Dodonæan oracle, originated from a handful of savages (une poignée d'hommes, ou, pour mieux dire, des brutes) first assembled under Pelasgus on the mountains of Arcadia, long after the establishment of the Delphian oracle. Nothing, however, in antient Grecian tradition appears more certain than that the Pelasgian name and people had a very different origin (1); nothing more uncertain than the time when the Delphian oracle was first established; and scarcely anything more evidently fabulous than those reports of the early consultation of it, on whose authority M. Hardion has not scrupled to say, 'il est INCONTESTABLE qu'il étoit établi

(1) See chap. 1. sect. 2. & 4. of this Hist.

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fore the establishment of its games, was famous for the oracle of Olympian Jupiter; which however ceased at an early period. The pretension to the gift of prophecy, as a dispensation of the deïty to certain individuals, being found still lucrative, continued still to be common, but it was often dangerous. For in gratifying one great man, tho but by telling the simple truth, the ill-will of another, or perhaps of the multitude, was excited. Thus Homer represents the seer Calchas, tho a man of high rank, afraid to declare a truth which might offend Agamemnon; and we find in Euripides the reason expressly given for preferring local oracles: 'Men 'are liable to be warped by fear, favor, or pity. Pro-'phecies should be delivered by Apollo alone, who 'respects nobody.' Whenever therefore means occurred for establishing the belief that a deïty favored any particular spot with his peculiar grace and frequent presence, and would deign there to communicate with mortals who knew how duly to invoke him, priests and soothsayers would not neglect the opportunity. The faithful delivery of the divine mandate no longer then depended on the credit of a single person, but a college of priests became its warrant; while the supposed sanctity of the place protected all within its precinct, and the number of the associated attendants added to the security of those ingaged in any office of the prophetical function. Through such inducements many oracles were in early times established, which, like Olympia, succeeded for a time, and decayed. But the oracle

Strabo, l. 8. p. 353.

Iliad. l. 1. v. 74.

Euripides Phœniss. v. 971.

'meme avant le déluge de Deucalion.' The first account of the consultation of the Delphian oracle to which Strabo seems to have given any credit was that of Homer, who mentions a response to Agamemnon before the Trojan war. See Strabo. b. 9. p. 417.

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which held its reputation, and extended it, we may say, over the world, was Delphi. Of this celebrated place so many fables are related, some of them referred to times long before, according to any authentic account, an oracle existed in Greece, that the writer whose subject calls for some elucidation of the matter, finds no small difficulty to determine what not to reject of all that has been said upon it. Indeed on this mythological ground, where even the antiquarian and the professed dissertator should tread with caution, the historian cannot but hesitate at every step. He will certainly not attempt to lead his reader a regular journey through it; but he may point out to him a few spots of the firmer soil, which, without risk of material deception, may inable him to form some general ideä of the whole.

On the southern side of mount Parnassus, within the western border of Phocis against Locris, and at no great distance from the seaport towns of Crissa and Cirrha, the mountain-crags form a natural amphitheater, difficult of access; in the midst of which a deep cavern, discharged, from a narrow orifice, a vapor powerfully affecting the brain of those who came within its influence. This, we are told, was first brought to public notice by a goatherd, whose goats, brouzing on the brink, were thrown into singular convulsions; upon which the man going to the spot and endevoring to look into the chasm, became himself agitated like one frantic. These extraordinary circumstances were communicated through the neighborhood; and the superstitious ignorance of the age immediately attributed them to a deïty residing in the place. Frenzy of every kind, among the Greeks, even in more inlightened times, was supposed the effect of divine inspiration, and the incoherent speeches of the frantic

Strabo, l. 9. p. 418.

l. 9. p. 419.

Diodor. l. 16. c. 26. Pausan. l. 10. c. 5. Schol. in Plut. Aristoph. v. 9.

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were regarded as prophetical[4]. A spot therefore to which herdmen only and their goats had hitherto been accustomed to climb over the rugged sides of the mountain, now became an object of extensive curiosity: it was said to be the oracle of the goddess Earth: the rude inhabitants, from all the neighboring parts, resorted to it for information concerning futurity; to obtain which any one of them inhaled the vapor, and whatever he uttered in the insuing intoxication, passed for prophecy.

But the function of prophet, under these circumstances, was not a little dangerous: for many through the superinduced giddiness, fell into the cavern and were lost. An assembly of the neighboring inhabitants was therefore convened; in which it was determined that one person, appointed by public authority, should alone be permitted to receive the inspiration and render the responses of the divinity; and that the security of the prophet should be provided for by a frame placed over the chasm, through which the maddening vapor might be inhaled with safety. A virgin was preferred for the sacred office; and a frame was prepared, resting on three feet, whence it had the name of tripod. The place bore the name of Pytho, of uncertain origin, but attributed in aftertimes to some adventures of the gods there, which gave it a mystical dignity; and thence the title of Pythoness or Pythia became attached to the prophetess. To obtain the inspiration which, it was supposed, not only inabled, but forced her to reveal the will of the divinity, the Pythoness was placed on the tripod. A sacred estimation thus became at-

[4] Ut alia nos melius multa quam Græci, sic huic præstantissimæ rei divinationi, nomen nostri a divis, Græci, ut Plato, interpretatur (in Phædro) a furore dixerunt. M. T. Cic. de divinatione, l. 1. s. 1.

tached to the form of that machine, insomuch that thence, according to Diodorus, arose the partiality which induced not the Greeks only but the Romans to prefer it for every utensil, whether for sacred or domestic purposes, to which it could be applied. SECT. II.

The importance of the oracle being increased by this interference of public authority, a farther establishment became necessary. A rude temple was built over the cavern, priests were appointed, ceremonies were prescribed, sacrifices were performed. A revenue now was necessary. All therefore who would consult the oracle henceforward, must come with offerings in their hands. The reputation of the place no longer then depended simply on the superstition of the people: the interest of the priests became its guardian. Hence, according to probable conjecture, the change of divinities supposed to preside at Delphi. The profits produced by the prophetical abilities of the goddess Earth beginning to fail, it was asserted that the god Neptune was associated with her in the oracle. After this the goddess Themis was said to have succeeded her mother Earth in the inheritance. Still new incentives to public credulity and curiosity became necessary. If the attempt to sift fact from fable may in any case be indulged to the historian, the hymn to Apollo, transmitted to us as the composition of Homer, seems to offer so probable an account of the next and final change in the property of this celebrated place, that it may be permitted to introduce it here.

Dissert. sur l'Oracle de Delphes, par M. Hardion.

Pausan. l. 10. c. 5.

Æschyl. Eumen. init.

Apollo was a deity of great reputation in the ilands and in Asia Minor, but hitherto of little fame on the continent of Greece, when a vessel from Gnossus in Crete came to the port of Crissa; and the crew landing, proceeded immediately up the neighboring mountain Parnassus to Delphi. Presently a won-

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derful story was circulated, 'That this vessel, being 'bound to Pylus on the coast of Messenia, had been 'forced by a preternatural power beyond that port; 'and, while the astonished crew were perfectly pas- 'sive, had been conducted with surprizing exactness 'and expedition to Crissa: that a dolphin of uncom- 'mon magnitude had accompanied the vessel, appa- 'rently with authority, and, on their arrival at Crissa, 'discovered himself to the crew to be the great and 'beneficent god Apollo; ordering them at the same 'time to follow him to Delphi, where they should 'become his ministers.' The project succeeded beyond expectation. Sacrifices and petitions to Themis and Neptune had plainly for some time been wrong: Apollo was now the presiding power of the place; and under this god, through the skill of his new ministers (for Crete, as we have seen, was earlier civilized, and had probably more intercourse with Egypt than the rest of Greece) the oracle recovered and increased its reputation. Delphi, which had the advantage of being really near the center of Greece, was reported to be the center of the world; miracles were invented to prove so important a circumstance, and Navel of the Earth was among the titles which it acquired[5]. Perhaps at this time the Pythian games had their origin in the prize offered for a hymn in honor of Apollo, to be performed by the voice accompanied by the cithara. The first victor, Pausanias informs us, was a Cretan. It was not till some ages after that athletic exercises were introduced, in imitation of the Olympian.

Pausan. l. 10. c. 7.

Delphi, however, prospering through its oracle, became early a considerable town. Situate as it was

[5] Strabo, l. 9. p. 419. Mr. Bryant has accounted for this title ingeniously, and perhaps justly, in his Analysis of Antient Mythology, vol. 1. p. 240.

among barren mountain-crags, the rich vale of Crissa was at hand for its supply; the Bœotian plain was not far distant, and the neighborhood of the sea was a great additional convenience. Before Homer's time, if we may credit the hymn to Apollo, the temple of that deity was built of stone, with some magnificence. But the Dorian conquest seems to have been the fortunate circumstance that principally spred its fame and inlarged its influence; which quickly so extended, that nothing of moment within Greece was undertaken by states, or even by private persons who could afford the expence, without first consulting the oracle of Delphi; particularly in circumstances of doubt, anxiety, and distress, Delphi was the refuge. A present upon these occasions was always necessary; and princes and opulent persons endevored to conciliate the favor of the deity by offerings of great value. Afterward vanity came in aid to superstition in bringing riches to the temple. The names of those who made considerable presents were always registered; and when statues, tripods, or other ornaments of valuable materials or elegant workmanship were given, they were publicly exhibited in honor of the donor.

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Wheeler's Journey into Greece, b. 4. p. 316.

But the wealth and growing estimation of Delphi had also another source of which information remains only so far as to assure us of the fact, with far less explanation of circumstances than for its importance might be desired. In the general insecurity of property in the early ages, and especially in Greece, it was highly desirable to convert all that could be spared from immediate use into that which might most easily be removed from approaching danger. By a compact understood among men, with this view, the precious metals appear to have obtained their early estimation. Gold then and sil-

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ver having acquired their certain value as signs of wealth, a deposit secure against the dangers continually threatening, not individuals only, but every town and state in Greece, would be the next object of the wealthy. Such security offered nowhere in equal amount as in those temples which belonged not to any single state, but were respected by the common religion of the nation. The priesthood, not likely to refuse the charge, would have a large interest in acquiring the reputation of fidelity to it. Thus Delphi appears to have become the great bank of Greece, perhaps before Homer, in whose time its riches seem to have been already proverbial. Such then was found the value of this institution, that when the Dorian conquest drove so large a part of the Greek nation into exile, the fugitives, who acquired new settlements in Asia, established there their own national bank, in the manner of that of their former country, recommending it to the protection of the same divinity: the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ became the great depository of the wealth of Ionia.

Herodot. l. 5. c. 35.

Of the management of the prophetical business of Delphi, some information remains, bearing the appearance of authenticity. The Pythoness was chosen from among mountain-cottagers, the most unacquainted with mankind that could be found. It was always required that she should be a virgin, and originally she was taken very young. The purity of virgin innocence, to which the Greeks always attached an ideä of mysterious sanctity, made a girl most fit, in vulgar opinion, to receive the influence of the God; and ignorance, which evinced purity of mind, was at the same time very commodious for the purposes of the priests. Once appointed, she was never to quit the temple. But unfortunately it

Diod. Sic. l. 16. c. 26.

Ibid.

happened that one Pythoness made her escape: her singular beauty inamored a young Thessalian, who succeeded in the hazardous attempt to carry her off. It was afterward decreed that no Pythoness should be appointed under fifty years of age; but that in simplicity she should still be the nearest possible to a child; and that even the dress appropriated to girls should be preserved to her. The office of Pythoness appears not to have been desirable. Either the emanation from the cavern, or some art of the managers, threw her into real convulsions. Priests, intitled prophets, led her to the sacred tripod, force being often necessary for the purpose, and held her on it till her frenzy rose to whatever pitch was in their judgement most fit for the occasion. To secure themselves was not difficult; because those noxious vapors, which have been observed in caverns, in various parts of the world, are so much specifically heavier than the wholesome air, that they never rise above a certain height[6]. But Pythonesses are said to have expired almost immediately after quitting the tripod, and even on the tripod. The broken accents, which the wretch uttered in her agony, were collected and arranged by the prophets, and then promulgated, till a late period always in verse, as the answer of the god. There were however a few days only in the year on which the god might be interrogated; and those variable within the power of the priests. Previous sacrifices were moreover necessary, and if the victims were not favorable the Pythoness would in vain solicit inspiration. Thus the priests had it always in their power to deny answers, to delay answers, or to give answers direct, dubious, or unintelligible, as

Plutarch. de Defect. Orac. Lucan. Pharsal. l. 5. v. 116. Strabo, l. 9. p. 419.

[6] See Bergman's Physical and Chemical Essays, in Cullen's Translation, v. 1. p. 63.

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they judged most advantageous for the credit of the oracle. With frequent opportunities therefore of arrogating the merit of true prophecy, the oracle generally avoided the risk of being convicted of false; tho such misfortune happened to many oracles less ably conducted, to the no small advantage of Delphi; which thence acquired the reputation, delivered to us in words not advantageous to the general character of those fixed seats of prophecy, of being the least fallacious of all oracles. But if princes or great men applied in a proper manner for the sanction of the god to any undertaking, they seldom failed to receive it in direct terms, provided the reputation of the oracle for truth was not liable to immediate danger from the event.

Strabo, l. 9. p. 419.

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Of the Origin and Constitution of the Council of Amphictyons.

When the Delphian sanctuary had acquired that extensive importance which resulted from the circumstances just related, and the wealth accumulated there offered so tempting a prey to the unscrupulous among the leaders of the numerous states around, composed intirely of a military people, it was little fit that the charge should be trusted wholly to the Delphian citizens, or even to the united government of the Phocian people. What indeed that government was in early times, we have no information. When it first becomes known to us, the Phocians were divided into no less than two and twenty village states, nearly independent. But among the dark confusion and fanciful falsehood of antient tra-

dition, we have seen large assurance that the people inhabiting to the northward of mount Œta, and along the coast of the Ægean sea eastward as far as the Hellespont, were, in early times, more inlightened than the southern Greeks: who in after-ages acknowleged obligation to instructors from that country, in religion, morality, legislation, and their vehicles music and poetry. We may gather also that the numerous barbarians of the extensive inland country, continually harassing the more civilized inhabitants of the coast, drove some to seek securer settlements elsewhere; and by preventing the cultivation of the arts of peace, reduced the rest to become barbarians like themselves. Greece possessed advantageous barriers against these evils, in its several ranges of almost impassable mountains, stretching across the country from sea to sea. The southern parts, therefore, with the ilands, afforded refuge for those inhabitants of the northern coast, who had means of transporting themselves, and effects to subsist on; and Thrace thus shared with Egypt and Phenicia in the honor of civilizing Greece. Thessaly, however, bordering on the barbarian hords, and by the fruitfulness of its soil, singularly tempting invasion, was in elder times peculiarly subject to revolutions. Yet, among the uncertain and romantic traditions remaining to us concerning Thessaly also, there appears good foundation for belief that it was, at a very early period, governed by princes more powerful and more informed than their cotemporaries of southern Greece. Among these the name of Deucalion is famous. But whatever truth or whatever error of tradition may have mixed that name with the circumstances of a deluge, and whether the deluge was that which destroyed the whole world, or one which wasted only a part of Greece, there

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seems no reason to doubt the existence of a king of Thessaly of the name, a principal potentate of his time. The dominions of that prince are said, on his death, to have been divided between his sons; the country northward of the pass of Thermopylæ forming a kingdom under Hellen, and the country southward another, under Amphictyon, who afterward added to it the province of Attica. Both these princes were of great fame, but very uncertain history. From Hellen is said to have originated the name Hellenes, the general denomination by which the Greeks of after-ages designated themselves. To Amphictyon is attributed the institution of the council of Amphictyons, which, defective and obscure as remaining accounts of it are, will demand some attention[7].

Ages before letters began to record the transactions of the Greeks, a regular establishment had been made of an assembly of deputies from the provinces northward and southward of mount Œta, to consult on the common interests of their constitu-

[7] In Homer's time no common name for all the Greeks had obtained general acceptation. In the want of such we find him evidently at a loss. But in the 37th line of his catalogue, he plainly means to include the whole nation under the two names Panhellenes and Achaioi: the former seemingly intended for the northern Greeks, the latter for the southern. Thus also in the Odyssee he apparently intends the northern division of the country by the name Hellas, and the southern by the name Argos (1), where under the two he means evidently to include the whole of Greece. The appellation Danaoi appears to mark the southern Greeks only, or however chiefly. Strabo tells us (2), that Argos was antiently a name including all Peloponnesus; that the epithet Achaïc, used by Homer, was derived from the Phthiot Achaians, who came into the peninsula with Pelops, and settled in Laconia; and that Danaï was a name which the Peloponnesian Pelasgians received from the Egyptian Danaüs.

(1) Odyss. l. 1. v. 344. l. 4. v. 726. & 816. & l. 15. v. 80.
(2) l. 7. p. 365. l. 8. p. 371.

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cults. Their ordinary place of meeting was a temple, dedicated to the goddess Ceres, near the mouth of the river Asopus, at that pass of Thermopylæ afterward so famous. These deputies bore the title of Amphictyons, it is said, from the founder of the institution[8]. Strabo attributes the regulations which became the basis of the constitution of this assembly to Acrisius king of Argos, grandfather of the hero Perseus, rejecting, as of no authority, all accounts of the assembly before the age of that prince. The conjectures of the Grecian chronologers, with which, however, the geographer shows himself everywhere little satisfied, placed Amphictyon a century and a half earlier than Acrisius. Sir Isaac Newton supposed them cotemporary, and about a century older than the Trojan war. If we admit the English philosopher's chronology, the supposition of a league of the most powerful princes of the northern with the most powerful prince of the southern part of Greece, will carry no apparent improbability, nor does it seem easy otherwise to account for the interference of a king of Argos, unmentioned by any tradition as a conqueror, in the regulation of an assembly of states at Thermopylæ[9]. That a connection and a beneficial connection was formed, and that, by

Strabo, l. 9. p. 420.

Newton's Chron. p. 12, 14, 17, & 143.

[8] It appears to have been the most received opinion of the most judicious antiquarians among the antients, that the Amphictyonic council had its name from Amphictyon son of Deucalion, tho the obvious application of the word, with a very small alteration, Ἀμφικτίων, as a description instead of an arbitrary appellation of the persons who composed the assembly, led some to suppose that this was the true name. See Pausan. b. 10. c. 8.

[9] Sir Isaac Newton, as a matter of probability, not resting on positive authority, supposes Amphictyon to have been the founder of the assembly at Thermopylæ, and Acrisius of that at Delphi. But we shall have occasion in the sequel to observe ground for assigning to the Delphic assembly, or more properly the Delphic session of the Amphictyons, a much later origin.

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some means, the kings of Argos obtained a superiority, is amply indicated by Homer, in the ready acquiescence which he ascribes to all the Grecian chiefs, as far as the utmost bounds of Thessaly, under the authority of Agamemnon, and the acknowlegement of it even by the proud and powerful Achilles. Nevertheless from Homer we have no mention of the Amphictyonic council. Possibly and even probably it may have been the policy of the Pelopid princes to repress its power, which had been favored by the Perseid line, whom they had expelled; and so, in Homer's time, it may have been insignificant and obscure. But in consequence of the revolution produced in Peloponnesus by the return of the Heracleids, and the equality asserted by the several princes who obtained settlements there, the power or influence which the Pelopid princes, and especially Agamemnon, had held among the northern provinces, fell immediately; and the principal sway in the assembly, and the principal interest in supporting it, reverted again to Thessaly.

The constitution of this famous assembly, obscure in its origin through extreme antiquity, is not accurately known to us even in those ages from which we might expect accurate information. We find, however, that every state of the Amphictyonic confederacy sent at least one representative, who bore the title of Pylagore[10]. Each member had an equal vote on every occasion in which the authority of the council was exerted; and no Amphictyon derived

[10] What remains from antient authors upon the subject has been largely collected by Dean Prideaux in his treatise on the Oxford Marbles, and Dr. Leland, in the preliminary Discourse to his History of Philip king of Macedonia, has added what has been imagined by modern writers. In the sequel of this history occasion will occur to notice the connection of the Amphictyonic council with the political interests of the country, as they arise; whence illustration, still imperfect, yet perhaps the best to be obtained, may result.

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any legal privilege or authority from the rank or estimation which his constituents held among the Grecian states, but all were properly peers. The meeting was opened with solemn sacrifices to Ceres. Afterward an additional representative was sent by every state, with the different title of Hieromnemon, indicating that his office was more particularly to superintend all concerns of religion. The form of the Amphictyonic oath has been preserved to us; not that of the earliest times, but probably not very different in tenor. It ran thus: 'I swear that I will 'never subvert any Amphictyonic city: I will never 'stop the courses of their water, either in war or 'peace. If any such outrages be attempted, I will 'oppose them by force of arms, and destroy those 'cities which are guilty of such attempt. If any de- 'vastations be committed in the territory of the god, 'if any shall be privy to such offence, or entertain 'any design against the temple, I will use my hands, 'my feet, my whole force, to bring the offending 'party to condign punishment.' An awful imprecation was subjoined: 'If any shall violate any part 'of this solemn ingagement, whether city, private 'person, or nation, may such violators be obnoxious 'to the vengeance of Apollo, Diana, Latona, and 'Minerva the Provident. May their land never pro- 'duce its fruits: May their women never bring forth 'children of the same nature with the parents, but 'offspring unnatural and monstrous: May they be 'forever defeated in war, in judicial controversies, 'and in all civil transactions; and may their fami- 'lies, and their whole race, be utterly destroyed: 'May they never offer an acceptable sacrifice to 'Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva the Provi- 'dent, but may all their sacred rites be forever re- 'jected.' The first part of this oath is pointed to what was reälly the most important business of the

Æschin. Or. de fal. Legat.

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assembly, and which seems to have been with great wisdom and humanity proposed as the principal end of the institution, the establishment and support of a kind of law of nations among the Greeks, that might check the violence of war among themselves, and finally prevent those horrors, that extremity of misery, which the barbarity of elder times usually made the lot of the vanquished. The view of the founders seems evidently to have gone farther; to bring all disputes between Amphictyonic states before this tribunal, and totally to stop war among them, or to punish it as private war and rebellion[11]. To this however, after the return of the Heracleids, amid the jealous claims of every Grecian city to absolute independency, the Amphictyonic council was never equal. Revolutions in early times reduced it to obscurity. Afterward the Delphian oracle, and the Delphian treasure, were committed to its superintendency, whence no small additional importance accrued to it. Nevertheless the members seem wisely to have avoided the attempt to exert an authority, which they wanted power effectually to support. Contests between states were, however, always esteemed proper objects of its jurisdiction: but the superintendency of the religion of the Greek nation was more particularly its office. Its authority to fine any Amphictyonic state, and, in case of noncompliance with injunctions, even to levy forces, and to make war on the disobedient, were allowed. Of disputes between private persons it never condescended to take connisance. Its proceedings were generally conducted with prudence and dignity; and its decrees, notwithstanding its deficiency of power, were highly respected.

[11] Περὶ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευσόμενον——ἀποδεῖξαι τὰς Ἀμφικτιονικὰς δίκας ὅσαι πόλεσι πρὸς πόλεις εἰσίν. Strab. l. 9. p. 420.

SECTION IV.

Early Dissensions of the Heracleid Princes. Unsettled State of Peloponnesus. Origin of the Grecian Games. Institution of the Olympian Festival by Iphitus King of Elis.

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THE RETURN OF THE HERACLEIDS, as the Dorian conquest is commonly termed by Grecian writers, produced a revolution in Peloponnesus so complete that, except in the rugged province of Arcadia, nothing remained unaltered. The Argian princes of the family of Pelops had acquired such superior power, and a legal preëminence which they claimed, in whatever way acquired, was so generally admitted, that under them one government in some degree pervaded, not the peninsular only, but all Greece: the administration of law gained consistency, civility advanced, and arts began to show themselves. But the Dorian conquest reduced Peloponnesus to that ruder state in which the new lords of the country had lived among their native mountains: arts and civility fled with the old inhabitants to florish in another soil. The first care of the conquering chiefs was to secure their acquisitions against any attempts of the former possessors: their next seems to have been to prevent any one among themselves from acquiring that superiority over the rest, which alone could insure the quiet of all. In the very partition of the country a cause of future discord arose. Aristodemus died: his followers, to whom Lacōnia was allotted, thought they had an equal claim to the fairer portion of Messenia; a less mountainous and more generally fruitful country, of which they were deprived, as they supposed, only through the inability of their infant sovereins, sons of their deceased leader, to assert

Pausan. l. 4. c. 3. Herodot. l. 5. c. 52.

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their rights. The boundaries also of the several allotments were, in the haste of division, not everywhere accurately ascertained; and early disputes about these led to hostilities. Within the several governments moreover, for many years after so violent a revolution, the unsettled state of things would often call for the strong arm of power to repress outrage and inforce order. Violence would arise sometimes on the part of the princes; and a conquering people, rude, but highspirited, was little disposed to admit patiently any exertion of authority not perfectly warranted by established custom. Thus, in every state, internal dissensions were seldom interrupted but by external war; and any long intermission of this the situation of Arcadia sufficed to prevent: sheltered by their mountains in their property and their freedom, the Arcadians, bordering upon all, were the natural enemies of all. Peloponnesus thus was relapsing into a state of anarchy and barbarism like that in which it had existed before Pelops and Hercules.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13. Plutarch. Lycurg.

From very early times it had been customary among the Greeks to hold numerous meetings for purposes of festivity and social amusement. A footrace, a wrestling match, or some other rude trial of bodily strength and activity, formed originally the principal entertainment; so far only perhaps more respectable in its kind than our country wakes, as it had more immediate reference to that almost ceaseless warfare which prevailed in elder Greece. It was probably the connection of these GAMES with the warlike character, that occasioned their introduction at funerals in honor of the dead; a custom which, we learn from Homer, was in his time antient. But all the violence of the early ages was unable to repress that elegance of imagination which

Iliad. l. 22. v. 630. Odyssee, l. 24. v. 87. Hymn. ad Apoll. apud

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seems congenial to Greece. Very antiently a contention for a prize in poetry and music was a favorite entertainment of the Grecian people; and when connected, as it often was, with some ceremony of religion, drew together large assemblies of both sexes[12]. A festival of this kind in the little iland of Delos, at which Homer assisted, brought a numerous concourse from different parts by sea; and Hesiod informs us of a splendid meeting for the celebration of various games at Chalcis in Eubœa, where himself obtained the prize for poetry and song. The contest in music and poetry seems early to have been particularly connected with the worship of Apollo. When this was carried from the ilands of the Ægean to Delphi, a prize for poetry was instituted; whence arose the Pythian games. But it appears from Homer that Games, in which athletic exercises and music and dancing were alternately introduced, made a common amusement of the courts of princes; and before his time the manner of conducting them was so far reduced to a system, that public judges of the games are mentioned as a kind of established magistrate. The Games, thus improved, greatly resembled the tilts and tournaments of the ages of chivalry. Men of high rank only presumed to ingage in them; but a large concourse of all orders attended as spectators: and to keep regularity among these was perhaps the most necessary office of the judges. But the most solemn meetings, and which drew together people of distinguished rank and character, often

Thucyd. l. 3. c. 104. Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 3. c. 3. s. 12.

Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 2. v. 272.

Odyss. l. 8.

l. 8. v. 258.

[12] - - - - - Ἐλχεχίτωνες Ἴάονες ἠγερέθονται
Αὐτοῖς σὺν παίδεσσι καὶ αἰδοίης ἀλόχοισιν.
Οἱ δέ σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηθμῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ
Μνησάμενοι, τέρπουσιν ὅταν ζήσωνται ἀγῶνα.
Hymn. ad Apoll. ap. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 104.

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from distant parts, were at the funerals of eminent men. The paramount sovereins of Peloponnesus did not disdain to attend these[13]; which were celebrated with every circumstance of magnificence and splendor that the age could afford. The funeral of Patroclus, described in the Iliad, may be considered as an example of what the poet could imagine in its kind most complete. The games, in which prizes were there contended for, were the chariot-race, the foot-race, boxing, wrestling, throwing the quoit and the javelin, shooting with the bow, and fencing with the spear. And in times when none could be rich or powerful but the strong and active, expert at martial exercises, all those trials of skill appear to have been esteemed equally becoming men of the highest rank; tho it may seem, from the prizes offered and the persons contending at the funeral of Patroclus, the poet himself saw, in the game of the cæstus, some incongruity with exalted characters.

Iliad. l. 23. v. 634. Odyssee, l. 8. v. 120. & seq. & 205 & seq.

West on the Olympic Games.

Traditions are preserved of Games celebrated in Eleia, upon several great occasions, in very early times, with more than ordinary pomp, by assemblies of chiefs from different parts of Greece. Homer mentions such at Elis under king Augeas, cotemporary with Hercules, and grandfather of one of the chiefs who commanded the Eleian troops in the Trojan war; and again at Buprasium in Eleia, for the funeral of Amarynceus, while Nestor was yet in the vigor of youth. But it does not at all appear from Homer that in his time, or ever before him, any pe-

Iliad. l. 11. v. 697.

l. 2. v. 623.

l. 23. v. 629.

[13] Agamemnon speaks of having frequently attended such meetings:

Ἤδη μὲν πολέων φάρῳ ἀνδρῶν ἀνίσθόλησα
Ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν ποτ', ἀποφθιμένου βασιλῆος,
Ζώννυταί τε νέοι, καὶ ἐπευτύνονται ἄεθλα.

Odyss. l. 24. v. 87.

riodical festival was established like that which afterward became so famous, under the title of the Olympiad or the Olympian Contest, or, as our writers, translating the Latin phrase, have commonly termed it, the Olympian Games. On the contrary, every mention of such games, in his extant works, shows them to have been only occasional solemnities; and Strabo has remarked that they were distinguished by a characteristical difference from the Olympian. In these the honor derived from receiving publicly a crown or chaplet, formed of a branch of oleaster[14], was the only reward of the victor: but in Homer's games the prizes were not meerly honorary, but intrinsically valuable; and the value was often very considerable. After Homer's age, through the long troubles insuing from the Dorian conquest, and the great change made in the population of the country, the customs and institutions of the Peloponnesians were so altered and overthrown, that even memory of the antient games was nearly lost.

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Strabo, l. 8. p. 355.

Pausan. l. 5. c. 8.

In this season of turbulence and returning barbarism, Iphitus, a descendant, probably grandson of Oxylus (tho so deficient were the means of transmitting information to posterity, that we have no assurance even of his father's name) succeeded to the throne of Elis. This prince was of a genius that might have produced a more brilliant character in a more inlightened age, but which was perhaps more beneficial to mankind in the rough times in which he lived. Active and enterprizing, but not by inclination a warrior, he was anxious to find a remedy for the disorderly situation of his country, and to restore that more improved state of things which, by the accounts of antient people, once had

l. 5. c. 4.

Newton's Chronol.

Pausan. l. 5. c. 4.

[14] Κοτίνου σέφανον. Aristoph. Plut. v. 586.

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being there, but now was only to be found beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus. Among all the violences of domestic feuds and forein wars, superstition still maintained its dominion undiminished over the minds of the Peloponnesian Dorians: the oracle of Delphi was held in no less reverence by them than by their forefathers among the woods and crags of Parnassus. To that oracle, therefore, Iphitus looked for support in the project which he meditated. He sent a solemn embassy to Delphi to supplicate information from the deity of the place, 'How the 'anger of the gods, which threatened total destruc-'tion to Peloponnesus, through endless hostilities 'among its people, might be averted?' He received for answer, what himself, as a judicious critic has observed, had probably suggested, 'That the Olym-'pic festival must be restored: for the neglect of that 'solemnity had brought on the Greeks the indigna-'tion of the god Jupiter, to whom it was dedicated, 'and of the hero Hercules, by whom it had been in-'stituted: and that a cessation of arms must there-'fore immediately be proclaimed for all cities desir-'ous of partaking in it[15].' This response of the god was promulgated throughout Greece; and Iphitus, in obedience to it, caused the armistice to be proclaimed. But the other Peloponnesians, full of respect for the authority of the oracle, yet uneasy at the ascendancy thus assumed by the Eleians, sent a common deputation to Delphi, to inquire concerning the authenticity of the divine mandate reported to them. The Pythoness, however, seldom averse to

West on the Olympic Games.

[15] Dissertation on the Olympic Games, by Gilbert West, Esq. whose account has been here principally followed. It has been chiefly furnished by a fragment of Phlegon, preserved in the Chronicon of Eusebius, but derives occasional support from Strabo, Pausanias, and other writers.

authorize the schemes of kings and legislators, adhered to her former answer; and commanded the Peloponnesians 'to submit to the directions and authority of the Eleians, in ordering and establishing 'the antient laws and customs of their forefathers.'

Supported thus by the oracle, and incouraged by the ready submission of all the Peloponnesians to it, Iphitus proceeded to model his institution. Jupiter, the chief of the gods, being now the acknowleged patron of the plan, and the prince himself, under Apollo, the promulgator of his will, it was ordained that a festival should be held at the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, near the town of Pisa in Eleia, open to the whole Greek nation; and that it should be repeated at the termination of every fourth year: that this festival should consist in solemn sacrifices to Jupiter and Hercules, and in games celebrated to their honor: and as wars might often prevent, not only individuals, but whole states, from partaking in the benefits with which the gods would reward those who properly shared in the solemnity, it was ordained, under the same authority, that an armistice should take place throughout Greece for some time before the commencement of the festival, and continue for some time after its conclusion. For his own people, the Eleians, Iphitus procured an advantage never perhaps injoyed, at least in equal extent, by any other people upon earth. A traditon was current that the Heracleids, on appointing Oxylus at the same time to the throne of Elis, and to the guardianship of the temple of Olympian Jupiter, had, under the sanction of an oath, consecrated all Eleia to the god, and denounced the severest curses, not only on any who should invade it, but also on all who should not defend it against invaders. Iphitus procured universal acquiescence to the authority of this tradition; and

Strabo, l. 8. p. 357, 358.

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the deference of the Grecian people toward it, during many ages, is not among the least remarkable circumstances of Grecian history. A reputation of sacredness became attached to the whole Eleian people as the hereditary priesthood of Jupiter, and a pointed difference in character and pursuits arose between them and the other Greeks. Little disposed to ambition, and regardless even of the pleasures of a town-life, their general turn was wholly to rural business and rural amusements. Elsewhere the country was left to hinds and herdmen, who were mostly slaves: men of property, for security, as well as for pursuits of ambition and pleasure, resided in fortified towns. But the towns of Eleia, Elis itself the capital, remained unfortified. In republican governments however civil contention would arise; nor could the progress to a connection of domestic party-interests with forein interests be intirely obviated, and so on, sometimes, to forein wars. But to the time of Polybius, who saw the liberty of Greece expire, they maintained still their general character and their antient privileges, whence they were then the wealthiest people of Peloponnesus, and yet the richest of them mostly resided upon their estates, and many without ever visiting Elis.

Strabo, l. 8. p. 358. Polyb. Hist. l. 4. p. 336, 337.

At the Olympian festival, as established by Iphitus, the foot-race, distinguished by the name of Stadion, was the only game exhibited: whether the various other exercises, familiar in Homer's age, had fallen into total oblivion, or the barbarism and poverty, superinduced by the violent and lasting troubles which followed the return of the Heracleids, forbad those of greater splendor. Afterward, as the growing importance of the meeting occasioned inquiry concerning what had been practised of old, or excited invention concerning what might be advan-

Pausan. l. 5. c. 8.

tageously added new, the games were multiplied. The Diaulos, a more complicated foot-race, was added at the fourteenth Olympiad; Wrestling, and the Pentathlon, or game of five exercises, at the eighteenth; Boxing at the twenty-third; the Chariot-race was not restored till the twenty-fifth; of course not till a hundred years after the institution of the festival: the Pancration and the Horse-race were added in the thirty-third. Originally the sacrifices, processions, and various religious ceremonies must have formed the principal pageantry of the meeting. Afterward, perhaps, the games became the greater inducement to the prodigious resort of company to Olympia; tho the religious ceremonies still continued to increase in magnificence as the festival gained importance. The temple, like that of Delphi, became an advantageous repository for treasure. A mart or fair was a natural consequence of a periodical assembly of multitudes in one place; and whatever required extensive publicity, whatever was important for all the scattered members of the Greek nation to know, would be most readily communicated and most solemnly, by proclamation at the Olympian festival. Hence treaties were often, by mutual agreement, proclaimed at Olympia; and sometimes columns were erected there, at the joint expence of the contracting parties, with the treaties ingraved. Thus the Olympian meeting in some degree supplied the want of a common capital for the Greek nation; and, with a success far beyond what the worthy founder's imagination, urged by his warmest wishes, could reach, contributed to the advancement of arts, particularly of the fine arts, of commerce, of science, of civilized manners, of liberal sentiments, and of friendly communication among all the Grecian people.

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The advantages and gratifications in which the whole nation thus became interested, and the particular benefits accruing to the Eleians, excited attempts to establish or improve other similar meetings in different parts of Greece. Three of these, the Delphian, Isthmian and Nemean, tho they never equalled the celebrity and splendor of the Olympian, acquired considerable fame and importance. Each was consecrated to a different deïty. In the Delphic, Apollo was honored: the Delphian people administered to him; the Amphictyonic council patronized the institution. Neptune was the deïty of the Isthmian festival, which had its name from the Corinthian isthmus, near the middle of which stood a temple of the god, overlooking the scene of the solemnity. The Corinthian people directed. At the Nemean, sacred to Juno, the Argians presided. These meetings were all open, like the Olympian, in war as in peace, to all Grecian people. They were also all held at intervals of four years, each taking its year between the Olympian meetings; so that every summer there was a festival common to the Greek nation, with an armistice inabling all who desired to attend.

APPENDIX TO THE THIRD CHAPTER.

Of the Chronology of Grecian History.

No circumstance of Grecian history has been more labored by learned men, and yet none remains more uncertain and unsatisfactory, than its CHRONOLOGY. I would most willingly have avoided all discussion of a subject which has already filled so many vo-

lumes, and to only touch upon which must considerably interrupt the tenor of a narration in its nature too much otherwise liable to interruption. The very names indeed of Scaliger, Selden, Lidyat, Marsham, Prideaux, Petavius, Calvisius, Pezron, Usher, Newton, Jackson, and lastly the indefatigable Freret, might more than suffice to deter from the attempt to throw new light on a matter which they have successively handled, and on which they have so little agreed. But as history cannot hold together without some system of chronology, and as the result of my researches will not permit me to accept what has of late most obtained, it appeared an indispensable duty of the office I have undertaken, to risk the declaration of my opinion, not without some explanation of the ground of it. This indeed might have been done, without interruption of the history, by a preliminary dissertation: but to be intelligible I must then have been more prolix, and much repetition would have been unavoidable. The history itself will now assist the illustration I propose of its chronology; in which, however, far from undertaking to make all clear and luminous, my aim will be no more than to assist the reader, whose studies have not been particularly directed this way, amid darkness and difficulty, to avoid gross error, and chuse the best ground to rest upon.

When a nation is first emerging from barbarism, all views are directed to the future: transactions past are of so little consequence, that a point whence accounts of time may originate is not an obvious want, and the deficiency is beyond remedy before it is felt. It was probably not long before Homer that the Greeks began to be attentive to genealogy; for the poet is unable to trace the pedigree of any of his heroes, except the royal family of Troy, beyond the

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fourth generation upward. Yet the genealogies of eminent men have perhaps been everywhere the first assistants toward ascertaining the dates of past events; feeble at best, and in the early days of Greece the more so through the general ignorance of writing, together with the continual troubles of the country, which made it difficult, by any means, to preserve certain accounts of pedigrees through a number of generations. When arts and learning were first springing in Peloponnesus under the benign influence of a more settled polity, the return of of the Heracleids violently stopped their progress, checked and dissipated antient tradition, and through expulsions, migrations, and various political troubles to a great extent and of long continuance, prevented the means of communicating even recent transactions with any exactness to posterity. When again the darkness superinduced by that revolution began to clear, we find hereditary monarchy superseded, in most of the Grecian states, by republican government and annual magistracy. This very much weakened the old means of ascertaining dates; because, among genealogies, none could be so obvious to general knowlege as those of princes. Yet, on the other hand, had the republican forms become at once regular and permanent, new means would have been opened, capable of far greater accuracy: for it might then have been possible to ascertain the year by the name of the magistrates of the time in different principal cities. In the unsettled state of governments, however, and the deficiency of writing, registers of magistracy were little regularly kept: the year was differently divided in the several states of Greece, and inaccurately calculated in all of them; and no era had been established whence to reckon years. Little indeed was chronology likely to ac-

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quire consistency, while compositions in prose for public use were unknown. The oldest Grecian prose-writers, known to the antients themselves, were Cadmus of Miletus and Pherecydes of Syrus, mentioned by Pliny to have lived during the reign of Cyrus king of Persia; nearly, therefore, about the time when laws were first put in writing among the Greeks, by Draco at Athens, and by Zaleucus for the Epizephyrian Locrians, and not till some centuries after the Heracleid revolution. In the next generation Hecatæus of Miletus composed a historical work in prose, which had some reputation with posterity; and about the same time Pherecydes, an Athenian, wrote of the antiquities and antient genealogies of his own country. The name of Acusilaüs of Argos has been transmitted as an earlier author: but the work of Pherecydes was the first composed in prose, on the continent of Greece, which retained any considerable credit. It was long extant, and was generally esteemed the most valuable upon its subject; yet how little satisfactory it was, whoever has but looked into what remains from Strabo, Plutarch and Pausanias, may judge. Herodotus, who lived about half a century after the Athenian Pherecydes, is the oldest Greek prose author preserved to us.—Former histories were but dry registers of facts, like that curious and valuable monument of our own antient history, the Anglosaxon Annals. Herodotus first taught to give grace to detail in prose narration; and at once with such success, that he has had, from the ablest writers in the most polished ages, the titles of father and prince of history[16].

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 56. Joseph. cont. Apion. Strabo, l. 6. p. 259.

Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 1.

Cic. de Leg. l. 1. c. 5. & de Orat. l. 1. c. 36.

[16] Græci ipsi sic initio scriptitarunt ut noster Cato, ut Pictor, ut Piso. Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio —sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. Itaque qualis apud

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But we gain little light from him concerning the chronology of antient times, farther than by some genealogies, and even those not undisputed. The preface of the judicious Thucydides, a few years only later than Herodotus, affords the clearest and most authentic information remaining, for the connection of Grecian history from the Homeric age to the times immediately preceding the Persian invasion; and at the same time strongly shows the deficiency of authorities, even for the history itself, and far more for its chronology. Still in Thucydides's time no era had been determined whence to reckon dates: the common method was to compute backward, either from the time present, or from some well-known period not distant, and that often not without great latitude. Thus Herodotus describes the time of events by saying they happened so many hundred years before his time; which scarcely fixes them within half a century. The more exact Thucydides commonly reckons backward from the year in which the Peloponnesian war was concluded. A little after Thucydides, in the time of Socrates, Hippias, an Eleian, published a catalogue of the victors

Græcos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas fuit, aliique permulti, talis noster Cato & Pictor & Piso. M. T. Cic. de Orat. l. 2. c. 12.

In that very valuable collection the Anglosaxon Annals, which, however dry and jejune, is perhaps the fairest monument of early history that any European nation possesses, we find remarkable proof of the difficulty of giving grace to prose in an uncultivated language. The author of the Annals of the years 938 and 942, and also the author of that of the year 975, if he was a different person, has been a man of genius apparently aware of the dulness of the preceding compilation, and determined to relieve it by a more spirited style of narrative; but, unable to satisfy himself in prose, he has done it in verse; and in verse which, tho, from antiquity of diction or corruption in transcription, obscure in a phrase or two, has nevertheless been deservedly the admiration of all who in any degree understand the language of our Anglosaxon ancestors.

in the Olympian games. This, if we might trust the specification of an Olympiad by its number, as it stands in our copies of Xenophon's Grecian annals, would appear to have been early adopted as a commodious chronological scale[17]. But we are informed by Plutarch, that the catalogue of Hippias had little reputation for accuracy[18]; and we find it still long before the Olympiads came into general use for the purpose of dating. Ephorus, the disciple of Isocrates, in his chronological history of Greece from the return of the Heracleids to the twentieth year of the reign of Philip king of Macedonia, digested his calculation of dates by generations only; and even the famous Arundel marbles, said to have been composed sixty years after the death of Alexander, make no mention of Olympiads, but reckon backward by years from the time present. The first systematic use of the Olympian catalogue, for the purpose of chronology, was by Timæus Siculus, in his general history, published soon after the date of the Arundel marbles. That historian endevored to correct chronology by comparing the succession of kings and ephors at Sparta, of archons at Athens, and of priestesses of Juno at Argos, with the list of Olympian victors. His work is unfortunately lost. About forty years later, Eratosthenes, librarian of Alexandria under Ptolemy Soter, digested a chronological system by the Olympiads, so much more complete than any before

Xen. Hellen. l. 1. c. 2. s. 1.

[17] There seems too much reason to doubt the authenticity of that specification. See Marsham. Can. sæc. 16. cap. de primo Olymp. p. 504. & Dodwell, Annal. Xenoph. & Dissert. oct. de Cyclis Lacon. sect. 19.

[18] Τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἐξακριβῶσαι χαλεπόν ἐστι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγομένους· ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὑπὲρ φασιν Ἱππίαν ἐκδοῦναι Ἠλεῖον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ὁρμώμενον ἀναγκαίου πρὸς πίστιν. Plut. vit. Numæ.

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known, that he has had the reputation of being the father of scientific chronology. But both his work and that of Apollodorus the Athenian, who followed him, are also lost. What therefore were his grounds of calculation for the early ages, and what those canons which Dionysius the Halicarnassian approved, we cannot know. But we know that those canons had not universal approbation. Plutarch speaks of them most disrespectfully even where they relate to times bordering upon certain chronology[19]. Strabo, perhaps the ablest of the antient antiquarians, has followed Homer with evident satisfaction, tracing him, both as geographer and historian, step by step, and verifying his accounts by his own observation and reading; but he hesitates where Homer leaves him, and gives abundant proof that he had no faith in that chronology which undertook to arrange history, either before or after the times of which Homer treats, till the Persian invasion[20]. Pausanias reports contradictions in regard both to the arrangement of times, and the arrangement of pedigrees in antient Grecian history, and freely confesses his inability to reconcile them[21].

Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom.

[19] Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Κροῖσον ἔντευξιν αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Σόλωνος) δοκοῦσιν ἔνιοι τοῖς χρόνοις ὡς πεπλασμένην ἐλέγχειν· Ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον ἔνδοξον ὄντα, καὶ τοσούτους μάρτυρας ἔχοντα——οὐ μοι δοκῶ προήσεσθαι χρονικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσιν, οὓς μυρίοι διορθοῦνλες ἄχρι σήμερον, εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογούμενον δύνανται καταξῆσαι τὰς ἀντιλογίας. Plutarch. v. Solon.

[20] See particularly his remarks upon the variety of traditions concerning the origin of the Olympian Games. Doubt seems scarcely to have ceased with him concerning the history of that festival itself, even where the regular computation by Olympiads begins: Ἐάσαι γὰρ δεῖ τὰ παλαιὰ.——τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα πολλαχῶς λέγεται καὶ οὐ πάνυ πιστεύεται.——Ἐγγυτέρω δὲ τῆς πίσεως ὅτι μέχρι τῆς ἕκτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐν ᾗ Κόροιβος ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἠλεῖος, τὴν προεστασίαν εἶχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος Ἠλεῖοι. Strab. l. 8. p. 355.

[21] Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι διάφοροι τὰ πλέονα, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅτι τοῖς γένεσιν εἰσί. Pausan. l. 8. c. 53.

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But Plutarch's testimony against the chronologers is most explicit: 'Thousands,' he says, 'continue 'to this day endevoring to correct the chronological 'canons, and can yet bring them to no consistency.' Plut. v. Solon. It seems as if doubts had decreased in modern times in proportion, not to the acquisition of means for discovering truth, but to the loss of means for detecting falsehood[22].

The chronology, at present most received, has been formed principally from those famous marbles brought from the Levant for the earl of Arundel, and now in the possession of the university of Oxford, together with some fragments of the chronologers Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and Thrasyllus, preserved chiefly in the Chronicon of Eusebius, and the Stromata of Clemens Alexandrinus. Those marbles, whose fame has so much exceeded their worth, have been proved in some instances false; and what can we think of the authority of the chronologers, when such authors as Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias, coming after them, never deign even to quote them, but endevoring to investigate the same subjects, declare that they were unable to satisfy themselves, and report the uncertainties that occurred? The chro-

[22] This appears very remarkably in some observations of the very learned Freret on the Arundel marbles: 'Quand à l'auto-'rité que doit avoir la Chronique de Paros, je crois qu'elle peut 'etre assez grande pour l'histoire des temps héroïques; cette 'Chronique étant la seule qui nous soit restée un peu entiére de 'toutes celles que les anciens avoient publiées.——Mais il s'en 'faut beaucoup que la Chronique ait le meme degré d'autorité 'pour l'histoire generale & politique de la Gréce.——De quel-'que part que soient venues les méprises il est sur qu'il y en a 'plusieurs dans la Chronique de Paros, &c.' Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. t. 26. What is this but saying, 'You may trust the 'marbles for what their author could not know, tho they are 'certainly false in what he might easily have learnt, and ought 'to have reported with accurate fidelity.' One of the instances of mistake, mentioned by Freret, relates to so remarkable an event of so late a date as the battle of Leuctra.

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nology built on such frail foundations is also in itself improbable, and even inconsistent with the most authentic historical accounts. All these considerations together urged the great Newton to attempt the framing of a system of Chronology, for the early ages of Greece, from the best historical traditions of political events, compared with the most authentic genealogies; and he endevored to verify it from accounts of astronomical observations. He never finished this work for publication, or it would probably have come to us less open to objection. Being printed after his death, it had for some time, however, great credit. But of late the favor of learned men, has inclined much to the former system; which, in our own country, Dr. Blair, in his Chronological Tables, has implicitly followed; and, in France, the wonderful diligence of the very learned Freret has been employed in the endevor to prove, that the real chronology of early Greece was still more at variance with all remaining history than even that which Blair has adopted[23]. To explain therefore what I have to urge in apology for my preference of Sir Isaac Newton's system, it may be necessary to lay before the reader a synopsis of the more received chronology, which I shall give from Blair's Tables.

The deluge, according to archbishop Usher, whom Blair has followed, was two thousand three hundred and forty-eight years before the Christian era. The

[23] Since the publication of the former edition of this History, a deeply studied Treatise on Chronology has been published by the very learned Doctor William Hales, of Dublin, who thinks he has discovered ground for setting the earliest recorded events in Greece at a greater distance from times of connected history, and from one another, than any before him. I reckon this notice of the work due to Doctor Hales and to the reader; but all farther, risking the repetition of my former opinions, I must leave for public judgement.

kingdom of Sicyon is said to have been founded only two hundred and fifty-nine years later. The list of kings of Sicyon is carried up to that period; but the next historical event in Greece is the founding of Argos by Inachus, two hundred and thirty-three years after the founding of Sicyon by Ægialeus. I shall not inlarge upon the absurdity of the pretence to establish the date of such an insulated fact, and of tracing a succession of kings so far beyond all connected accounts of transactions in the country; because it has been a supposition, not less received, that Phoroneus and Ægialeus, sons of Inachus, founded Argos and Sicyon nearly at the same time. We have indeed Plato's testimony that, earlier than the age of Phoroneus, nothing was known of Greece. After the founding of Argos the Flood of Ogyges is the next event of any importance: it is supposed to have happened sixty years later. Whether any person of the name of Ogyges ever lived in Greece appears, however, very uncertain. The term Ogygian, used in after-ages to express extreme antiquity, time beyond certain knowlege, seems, from the use which Homer makes of it, to have been not originally Grecian, and, if we may trust Æschylus, it was Egyptian[24]. After Ogyges a void follows, which chronology would ascertain to be of just two hundred and eight years. Then Cecrops founded Athens. Dates thus wide of all connection with history are not for the historian to comment upon. With Cecrops, however, we find ourselves approaching to a train of historical events, so far connected that the memory of man

Plat. Timæus, p. 22. t. 3. ed Serran.

See ch. 1. sect. 3. of this Hist.

[24] It seems not likely that Homer would have called the distant and fabulous iland of Calypso Ogygia from the name of a Grecian prince. Æschylus calls the capital of Upper Egypt Ogygian Thebes. Æschyl. Pers. v. 39.

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might possibly reach from one to the other, and link tradition sufficiently for some conjectural calculation. Deucalion is said to have been cotemporary with Cecrops. Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, is the reputed founder of the council which bore his name. Cadmus was cotemporary with Amphictyon. Danaüs came into Greece only eight years after Cadmus. The connection is then less satisfactorily supported during near a century and half to Acrisius: it holds afterward better, through eighty years, to the Argonautic expedition. And here at length a crowd of remarkable personages and many important events break upon us in probable succession: Pelops, Ægeus, Œneus, Augeas, Neleus, Tyndareus, Eurystheus, Hercules, Jason, Theseus, and that Minos mentioned by Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, and Strabo; for the chronologers have imagined a prior Minos unknown to all those authors. With these personages we have the Argonautic expedition, the wars of Thessaly, the wars of Hercules in Peloponnesus, the Theban war, the war of Minos with Athens, the establishment of the Cretan maritime power with the suppression of piracy, the reformation of the Athenian government, the expulsion of the posterity of Perseus from Peloponnesus, with the full establishment of the power of the family of Pelops, and finally the war of Troy. History regularly connects these events, and the chronology which fixes the Argonautic expedition to the year before Christ twelve hundred sixty-three, places the expedition against Troy less than seventy years later. Chronology then continues to go hand in hand with history as far as the return of the Heracleids: but here many ages of darkness insue. The next events in Peloponnesus of any importance, and which bring for-

ward any considerable characters to the notice of history, are the institution of the Olympian games by Iphitus, and the legislation of Lacedæmon by Lycurgus; and chronologers assert that this interval, in which neither man acquired fame, nor event had any consequence, was of no less than two hundred and twenty years: Freret makes it two hundred eighty-three. Then follows another void of one hundred and eight years to another Iphitus, under whose presidency at the Olympic festival Corœbus was victor, in what ever after bore the title of the first Olympiad. From this era chronology begins again to approach toward a connection with history; but for near two hundred years it remains yet very uncertain. The most important events of the most polished state of Greece, the legislation of Draco, and even the legislation of Solon at Athens, are of uncertain date; tho the former is, on probable ground, placed above a century and half after the first Olympiad. Toward the sixty-fourth Olympiad, above two hundred and fifty years after the victory of Corœbus, books were still so little common, and means of multiplying them so little known, that Hipparchus, to promote the knowlege of letters among the Athenian people, caused moral sentences in verse, ingraved on marble, to be set up in the public ways of Attica, for a kind of public library. Herodotus, the earliest Grecian prose-writer whose works remain to us, florished about seventy years after. The Olympian catalogue was first published by Hippias the Eleian not till toward the hundredth Olympiad. The first history digested by Olympiads, that of Timæus, was above a hundred years later; and Eratosthenes, called the father of antient chronology, did not florish till about the hundred and thirty-third Olympiad.

Plat. Hipparch.

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After this synopsis of that chronology which has had countenance from so many respectable names of modern and so few of antient times, it may be advantageous to take a short view of the means remaining, together with the means which the antient authors themselves possessed, as far as we can know them, for tracing events through the early ages of Greece: because, as the authority of the history itself depends upon those means, from them also its chronology will derive its best, and indeed only solid support. The principal works of Hesiod and Homer, two of the oldest, and the most valued among the oldest authors known to the antients, have been fortunately transmitted to us. In what age those authors lived is undecided; but that it was some centuries before prose-compositions for public use were known in Greece was never doubted. In their age accounts of great events were preserved chiefly by memory, assisted with verse. In the uncontested work of Hesiod, his poem intitled of Works and Days, there remains a summary of things from the creation to his own time. He begins with what he terms the golden age, which seems a tradition derived from the East concerning the terrestrial paradise, and the state of man before the fall. He proceeds to the silver age, which, on comparing it with the account of Moses, appears not less evidently a relic of tradition concerning the antediluvian world. The brazen age follows, in which he describes precisely that savage state of the western nations of which Plutarch gives an account more in detail in his life of Theseus. In speaking of the succeeding generation, whom he calls the race of heroes, the poet confines his description more pointedly to his own country: he mentions the wars of Thebes and Troy by name. The next race of men to these, he

Chap. 1. sect. 4. of this Hist.

says, was that with which he himself lived, and this he calls the iron race. The golden race, he tells us, were exalted after death to a superior state of being; the silver race were hid in his anger by the immediate hand of the Deïty; but no such intervention of supernatural power is mentioned in the account of the brazen, the heroïc, and the iron race: it is simply said that such races succeeded one another; and the latest historical event noticed is the Trojan war. If any surmize concerning the poet's own age can be fairly founded upon this historical deduction, it must be that he was born in the time of the sons, and lived probably with the grandsons and great-grandsons of those who fought at Troy[25]. Such then is the chronology of Hesiod.

The chronology of Homer does not go so high, but it is continued lower. Homer reckons time upward no farther than he can trace the geneälogies

[25] This is sir Isaac Newton's supposition, tho he has understood the golden and the silver ages or races to relate particularly to Greece, as well as the brazen, the heroïc, and the iron; an opinion which I must confess appears to me wholly unwarranted.

Having thus ventured to controvert so high an authority, it has afforded me gratification to find support from the very learned Dr. William Hales of Dublin, in the first volume of his very elaborate Treatise on Chronology, published since the last edition of this History. But Dr. Hales supposes Hesiod's golden age to have extended beyond the fall, including the age of those families of Seth's line, called, in the book of Genesis, 'sons of God.' To this I can give neither absolute assent, nor absolute denial, doubting if Hesiod himself had information on the subject sufficiently precise to lead him to intend warranting either; and it is enough for me that he has, in his golden age, so clearly marked the state of man, as described by Moses, before the fall. The Doctor farther contends, that Hesiod's silver age followed the deluge. I will not say that the poet ingaged in his description of the silver age, completely prepared to keep it clear of all allusion to times following the deluge; but the learned Doctor has omitted to account for the termination of the silver age by 'the Deïty in his wrath,' and I am not aware to what other event in the known history of the world, that expression is applicable.

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of his heroes; which all end in a god, a river, or some unaccountable personage; in the second, third, or at most the fourth generation beyond those of the Trojan war. The royal race of Troy forms the only exception: Jupiter was ancestor in the seventh degree to Hector. Negative proof surely cannot be stronger against that antiquity to which some of the Grecian towns in late ages pretended. Homer's Grecian chronology begins thus scarcely before the age of Pelops, a generation or two earlier than the Theban war; and it ends with the restoration of Orestes, great-grandson, or, according to some, great-great-grandson of Pelops[26], to the throne of Argos. Within these limits Grecian history is regular and probable; and chronology, according to every opinion of the learned who have endevored to illustrate it, sufficiently tallies with the course of events. But this luminous period stands most odly insulated. That it should have been preceded by times without history is not wonderful; but that it should have been followed by so many centuries of utter darkness as chronologers have imagined, appears most unaccountable. It would be of some importance both to the history and to the chronology of early Greece, if it were possible to ascertain the great poet's own age. Tho, therefore, the variety of opinions upon this subject makes any discussion of it hazardous, it yet appears a part of the duty of the office I have undertaken, not to avoid the declaration of my own; and in hope of elucidating, in some degree, and confirming the account which I have ventured to give of that dark period which begins where Homer's history ends, I will here bring under one point of view some circumstances of proof upon which my opinion principally rests.

[26] See note 13, chap. 1. of this History.

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None of the early Grecian writers have undertaken to fix the era of the Trojan war; but Herodotus affirms that Homer lived four hundred years before his own age[27]. He does not inform us how that period was calculated; but many things remaining from other early authors, and among them the dates reported by Thucydides, tend to make the assertion probable, and it has indeed been generally admitted. For the time then from the Trojan war to the poet's age, there is evidence within his remaining works which seems to mark it strongly. Four passages appear to speak to it in some degree affirmatively: three of them indeed but loosely, and rather by implication than directly; but the fourth in pointed terms. In the Odyssee a conversation is introduced concerning subjects for poetry, where it is remarked, that 'those subjects are preferred for celebration, in 'which, through the recency of the transactions, the 'hearers have a nearer interest.' Now this would stand contradicted by the poet's practice, if the events which he celebrates happened, as some have imagined, five, four, three, two, or even one century before the people for whom he composed were born. In the Odyssee again, we find another remarkable passage concerning subjects for poetry: 'The gods wrought the fate of Troy, and decreed 'the destruction of men, that there might be sub-'jects for poetry to future generations.' Had the poet lived after the return of the Heracleids, that revolution would have furnished subjects far more

Herodot. l. 2. c. 53.

Odyssee, l. 1. v. 251.

l. 8. v. 578.

[27] In quoting the authority of Herodotus, I refer to that only of his general history. I am not inclined to give any credit to the life of Homer attributed to him. The arguments against its authenticity appear to me much stronger than those in its favor; and not least the internal evidence of the work itself. The first note of Wesseling's edition may deserve the notice of those curious on the subject.

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nearly interesting to hearers, in any part of either Greece itself, or the Grecian settlements in Asia Minor, than the war of Troy. These two passages, therefore, seem strongly to indicate that he lived not long after the times of which his poems principally treat. The third passage may perhaps prove that he did not live absolutely in those times: speaking in his own person of the Trojan war, he says, 'I have these things only by report, and not of my own knowlege;' which, however, would be very superfluous information to his auditors, if he did not live so near those times that, in his old age, it might be doubted if his early youth had not been passed in them. It has been often observed that Homer shows himself, upon all occasions, remarkably disposed to extol the family of Æneas, and singularly careful to avoid what might give them offence; whence it has been inferred that the posterity of that chief existed and were powerful in the poet's age; nor indeed can the circumstance be otherwise accounted for. One passage, however, appears to speak pointedly to the purpose: the god Neptune is introduced declaring prophetically that 'Æneas shall reign over the Trojans, and the sons of his sons, and those who shall be born after them.' In its most natural interpretation this passage seems to mark precisely the number of generations from Æneas to his descendants cotemporary with the poet; and with any other interpretation the sense is dubious and incomplete, in a manner not usual with Homer.

Iliad. l. 2. v. 486.

l. 20. v. 308.

These are then, I believe, the only passages, within Homer's extant works, that speak at all affirmatively to the age in which he lived. They are not conclusive, and yet united, they are strong. But the negative evidence, which his works afford in

confirmation of them, is such that, but for the respect due to those who have thought differently, and still more perhaps to those who have doubted, I should scarcely hesitate to call the whole together decisive. For had the return of the Heracleids preceded the times in which Homer florished, is it conceivable that, among subjects which so naturally led to the mention of it, he should never once have alluded to so great an event, by which so total a change was made of the principal families, and indeed of the whole population of Peloponnesus, and of all the western coast of Asia Minor with the adjacent ilands? His geography of Peloponnesus is so minute and so exact, that Strabo has chosen to follow him step by step for the purpose of tracing, from remotest antiquity, a complete account of that peninsula. That in so particular a description of the country, before the Dorian conquest, he should have been so correct that no subsequent inquiry could convict him of any error[28], and yet that he should not take the least notice of any of the great changes in the property, the government, and the partition of the country which that revolution produced, if he had lived to see them, is not easily imaginable. How naturally, upon many occasions, would some such pathetic observation have occurred concerning the Pelopid, the Neleid, and other families, as that which in his catalogue in the Iliad he makes upon the catastrophë

[28] Τὰ δὲ δὴ κατὰ τὴν Ελλάδα καὶ τοὺς σύνεγγυς τόπους καὶ λίαν περιέργως ἐξενηνοχέναι, πολυτρήρωνα μὲν τὴν Θίσβην λέγοντα, Αλίαρτον δὲ ποιήσαντα, ἰσχατόωσαν δὲ Ανθηδόνα, Αἰλαιαν δὲ πηγῆς ἐπὶ Κηφισσοῖο· καὶ ουδεμίαν προσθήκην κενῶς απορρίπτειν. Strab. l. 1. p. 16.

Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα συμβάλλων τά τε νῦν καὶ τὰ ὑφ' Ὁμήρου λεγόμενα· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἀνίξετάζεσθαι ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοις, διὰ τὴν τοῦ ποιητοῦ δόξαν καὶ συνηροφίαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τότε νομίζοντος ἑκάστου κατορθοῦσθαι τὴν παροῦσαν πρόθεσιν, ὅταν ἢ μηδέν ἀνίκιτλον τοῖς ὕστω σφόδρα πιστευθεῖσι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγοις. Δεῖ δὴ τά τε ὄντα λέγειν, καὶ τὰ ποιητοῦ, παρατιθέντας ἐφ' ὅσον προσήκει προσκοπεῖν. Strab. l. 7. p. 337.

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of the royal family of Ætolia[29]! How naturally too, especially as he mentions the wars of Hercules both in Greece and in Asia, would some compliment have fallen to the descendants of that hero, had they been in his time lords of Peloponnesus, instead of exiles on the mountains of Doris; and how almost unavoidable, from an inhabitant of Chios, some notice of the acquisitions of the posterity of Agamemnon and Nestor in Æolis and Ionia, had he lived after the Æolic and Ionic migrations? Such subjects being open to him for compliment to all the princes both of the Pelopid and Heracleid families, would he have neglected all, and paid particular attention only to the extinct family of Æneas, the enemy of his nation? With these strong circumstances many others meet. To complete the evidence which the poet himself furnishes concerning the time in which he lived, we must add his ignorance of idolatry, of hero-worship, of republics, of tyrannies, of a general name for the Greek nation, and of its division into Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian: we must add the form of worship which he describes, without temples as without images: we must add the little fame of oracles, and his silence concerning the council of Amphictyons: we must add his familiar knowlege of Sidon, and his silence concerning Tyre: and lastly we may add the loss of his works in Peloponnesus, whose new inhabitants had comparatively little interest in them, and their preservation among the colonists in Asia, who reckoned his principal heroes among their ancestors. All these circumstances together appear to amount almost to conviction that

[29] Οὐ γὰρ ἔσ' Οἰνῆος μεγαλήτορος υἱέες ἦσαν,
Οὐδ' ἀρ' ἔσ' αὐτὸς ἔην· Δάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος.
Τῷ (Θοάντι) δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι' ἐτέταλτο ἀνασσέμεν Αἰτωλοῖσι.
Iliad. l. 2. v. 643.

Homer lived before the return of the Heracleids[80]. All together afford also strong proof that the editors

[80] In a late anonymous publication, intitled Critical Observations on Books antient and modern, in which much learning is displayed, Wood's opinion concerning the age of Homer has been violently controverted, and the author has endevored to prove that the great poet lived still later than has been generally supposed. I have considered his arguments with attention, but cannot see any force in any of them. He asserts (1) that 'there are such internal testimonies in Homer's poems of re-'finement, as stand in direct contradiction to the roughness of 'his manners, and prove that either the one or the other could 'not be the real state of his own times.' But Wood, who had conversed extensively in the East, knew that what thus appear contradictions to a learned Englishman thinking in his closet, are not incompatible there. 'Pope,' the learned critic continues, 'has justly observed that Homer's invocation Ἥμεις δὲ 'κλέος οἷον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν (2) shows that he lived long af-'ter the siege of Troy.' Thucydides, incomparably a greater authority than Pope, has said nearly the same thing: but the question still remains, What is long? Perhaps the οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν might be not unreasonably taken to imply that the poet's birth was so near the time of the Trojan war that, in his old age, if he had not declared the contrary, it might have been imagined that he pretended to know the events he describes from having been a party concerned; for it is little usual to contradict what could not be supposed. The proofs endevored to be drawn from Paterculus and Aristotle, and from the mention of the Gygæan lake, have not more precision. That from the word βαρβαροφώνων (3), is at variance with what follows about the names Miletus and Mycale (4). The learned critic has very much over-hastily quoted Strabo as asserting that 'Miletus was 'at soonest built by Codrus, a hundred years after the taking of 'Troy (5).' Strabo indeed says, that Neleus, who according to other authors, was son of Codrus, founded Miletus, Μίλητον ἔκτισε (6): but it appears from two other passages of Strabo himself that an older town of the same name, and on or near the same spot, had its origin from a colony of Cretans under Sarpedon, brother of Minos (7), and Pausanias bears corresponding testimony (8). 'Again,' says the author of the Critical Observations, 'the mention made in the Odyssee of various articles of luxury 'and elegance betrays a later age than is usually assigned to 'the poet, and shows that he must have lived in more civiliz-'ed times than can be consistent with the rough and simple 'manners which he feigns.' I think not. Arts flourished in

(1) p. 62. (2) Il. l. 2. v. 487. (3) p. 42. (4) p. 67.
(5) p. 67. (6) Strab. l. 14. p. 633. (7) Strab. l. 14. p. 573 & 634.
(8) l. 7. c. 2.

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of the Rhapsodies found them genuine, and gave them so to the world[81].

Egypt and Phenicia before Homer's age; but nothing in his works implies that Greece was in his time considerably advanced either in arts or in civilization beyond the times of his principal heroes. Two circumstances only mark some little advancement; and but little. The trumpet, as appears from a simile, was known to him, tho never mentioned as in use in the times which he describes. From two similes it should seem also that horsemanship was improved. I believe another instance cannot be produced. But the learned critic continues, 'That most 'curious machine the formation of the Greek tongue in its seve-'ral tenses, cases, and numbers, was all perfect and complete 'when Homer wrote.—It was impossible for his language to 'have arrived at that summit of excellence to which little im-'provement or addition was made afterward, unless the speak-'ers were also arrived near the summit of social life and civil 'government.' The learned critic seems not sufficiently to have adverted to the common and known progress of languages. They are often found most complex in barbarous times, and simplify with the progress of civilization. The Anglosaxon had cases and a dual number, which it lost before the mixture of Norman French had formed our present language; and the Greek dual is scarcely seen but in the older authors. But the general form and character of every language become fixt in barbarous ages, beyond the power of learning to alter. Those of the Greek were indeed wonderfully happy; but had they not been so delivered down from times of darkness, all the philosophy of the brightest ages could not have added a number, a tense, or a case.

[81] It has not been the purpose here to give a dissertation on the age of Homer, in which every objection that ingenious criticism might start should be discussed, but meerly to state the principal grounds of an opinion resulting from more reading and more consideration on the subject than many are willing to bestow. I have understood that a passage in the fifth book of the Iliad has been supposed to make strongly against me. It is there said, 'that Diomed took a stone which two men, such as mortals now are, could not carry.' It appears to me that whatever objection might be drawn from this passage is already answered in the beginning of the second section of the second chapter of this History. If more is wanted, I would beg to refer the reader to Nestor's assertions, in various parts of the Iliad, of the superiority of those who florished in his youth, to Diomed or any others, the cotemporaries of his old age.

After Homer is a long interval to our next authorities for Grecian history. Pindar and Æschylus afford assistance; but they lived too late to unite in any great degree the character of historian with that of poet[32]. Following poets are of course still inferior historical authority. Herodotus, therefore, the oldest Grecian prose author whose works remain to us, and who, according to his own probable assertion, as we have already observed, was four hundred years later than the great poet, may be called the next historian. Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias, who in different ages investigated the antiquities of their country, all sufficiently inform us what uncertain authorities intervened. Early in this dark period, however, we gain, by a strong concurrence of testimony, one remarkable point, the Olympiad in which Corœbus won in the stadion, whence the Olympiads were reckoned numerically, and which was therefore always called the first Olympiad. But unfortunately we are not with any certainty informed what principal characters were cotemporary, or even nearly cotemporary, with Corœbus. Not only therefore the preceding times, till we meet Homer's chronology, or, which is nearly the same thing, to the return of the Heracleids, remained to be gathered from geneälogies, but, for the most part, the subsequent also till near the time of the Persian invasion. In the computation by geneälo-

[32] Tho not more than three or four publications in Grecian prose, of earlier date than the works of Pindar and Æschylus, acquired any reputation, yet already in their time the Λόγιος, prose-writer, appears to have been familiarly known as a person capable of transmitting facts to posterity, as well as the Ἀοιδὸς, poet:

- - - - - - Ὀκτισθόμβροτον αὔχημα δόξας
Οἷον ἀοιχομένων ἀνδρῶν δίαιταν μανύει
Καὶ Λογίοις καὶ Ἀοιδοῖς.—Pindar. Pyth. 1.

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gies, exclusively of its inherent inaccuracy, great difficulties occur. Even the succession of Lacedæmonian kings, which should be our best guide, has not been transmitted with certain correctness; and when we recollect the variety of opinions of antient writers, or those reported by Plutarch alone, concerning the age of so very remarkable a personage as the lawgiver Lycurgus, the pretensions of chronologers to assign to each reign its exact number of years appear utterly absurd. The terms attributed to the perpetual archons of Athens are not better founded; and the reasons given by Sir Isaac Newton for supposing that the seven decennial archons did not complete seventy years, are cogent. Of the annual archons who followed, accounts are very deficient. Probably at their first establishment written registers were not kept: for, as we are well assured that the laws of Athens were never committed to writing till the archonship of Draco, it is not likely that letters were applied much sooner to public purposes of inferior importance. Letters became common, and chronology acquired accuracy, about the same time, and not long before the Persian invasion.

The first Olympiad, however, that in which Corœbus won, is of universally acknowleged date seven hundred and seventy-six years before the Christian era. In this point Sir Isaac Newton and all following chronologers agree[38]. The return of the Hera-

[38] I do not understand the accusation of an ingenious, but vehement opposer of Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, that Newton asserts a wilful forgery to have been made in the Olympic catalogue of forty Olympiads which had no real existence (1). On the contrary, Newton admits all the Olympiads of the catalogue, from Corœbus downward; and before Corœbus, if any Olympiads were celebrated, we are well assured that no catalogue was kept.

(1) Dissertation on the Chronology of the Olympiads, by Dr. S. Musgrave.

cleids happened eighty years after the Trojan war. This assertion of the inquisitive and judicious Thucydides has also found universal acquiescence. The two great desiderata then of Grecian chronology are to know what principal persons were cotemporary with Corœbus, and to trace the generations from his age upward to the return of the Heracleids. If these could be obtained, we should have a tolerably accurate chronology as far as Homer's geneälogies will carry us; and beyond them, however curiosity may be incited, the fruit of inquiry will scarcely pay the labor.

Our principal information concerning the Olympiads is from Pausanias; who lived late, but was a diligent and a candid antiquarian. He travelled through Greece after the middle of the second century of the Christian era, and it appears that he examined the Olympian register on the spot. He says that the Olympiads might be traced back regularly to that in which Corœbus won in the foot-race; but that even tradition, concerning any regular and periodical celebration of the games, went no farther. It is strongly implied, by his expressions, that the written register of the Olympian victors was not so old as Corœbus, but that the account of the first Olympiads had been kept by memory only[34]. Indeed it appears certain, from all memorials of best authority, that writing was not common in Greece so early. We are not assured that Corœbus was cotemporary with Iphitus, yet it appears probable. On the authority of a passage of Phle-

[34] Ἐξ οὗ γὰρ τὸ συνεχὲς ταῖς μνήμαις ἐπὶ ταῖς Ολυμπιάσιν ἐσί (1), is Pausanias's expression concerning the authority of the first Olympiads of the catalogue, beginning with the victory of Corœbus. With regard to later times, he speaks in plain terms of a written register.

(1) l. 5. c. 8.

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gon preserved by Eusebius, but wholly unsupported by older authors, the chronologers confidently state twenty-eight Olympiads between the establishment of the festival by Iphitus, and the victory of Corœbus under another Iphitus. Pausanias evidently had no ideä of such an interval. Strabo's account still more remarkably contradicts the supposition. He affirms that the Ætolians, who under Oxylus came into Peloponnesus with the Heracleids, were the inventors of the Olympian games, and celebrated the first Olympiads. After then mentioning traditions concerning the prior establishment of the festival as fabulous and unworthy of credit, he speaks of that as the first Olympiad in which Corœbus won. So far from giving the least countenance to the supposition that two or three centuries intervened between the return of the Heracleids and the victory of Corœbus, it is rather implied, by his expressions in that passage, that Corœbus was cotemporary with Oxylus. This however is not affirmed, and in another place Iphitus is mentioned as founder of the festival; but other authors must be resorted to for authority even for that short interval which Newton has supposed between Oxylus and Corœbus. With Newton, therefore, I have no scruple to strike from my chronology that period of above a century which has been imagined between Iphitus and Corœbus. Iphitus, according to Pausanias, was descended from Oxylus, but in what degree that antiquarian could not learn; there were even contradictory testimonies among the antient inscriptions and memorials of the Eleians themselves concerning his father's name. Newton, deducing collateral proof from another passage of Pausanias, supposes him grandson of Oxylus, and places the Olympiad in which Corœbus

Strabo. l. 8. p. 354, 355.

Pausan. l. 5. c. 4.

won under his presidency, only fifty-two years after the return of the Heracleids. Blair places Iphitus two hundred and twenty, and Freret supposes him two hundred and eighty-three years later than that event; and both maintain the farther interval of one hundred and eight years between his institution of the Olympian games and that called the first Olympiad. If we search history to know what occurrences filled this long interval, we find none: nothing in the least to contradict Newton's supposition that only fifty-two years, instead of three hundred and twenty-eight according to Blair, or three hundred and ninety-five according to Freret, passed between the return of the Heracleids and the Olympiad in which Corœbus won, except an account from Pausanias of what was not done. That antiquarian relates that games, after the manner of the Homeric age, were so long neglected, that even memory of them failed; and that they were recovered but by slow degrees after the time of Corœbus. I know nothing else of equal or almost of any authority to direct opinion between Sir Isaac Newton's conjecture, and computations so utterly unsupported by history as those adopted by Blair, or made by Freret: computations, as appears to me, virtually contradicted by Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle, and evidently disbelieved by Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias. Not only they are utterly irreconcilable to the history, imperfect enough indeed itself, which remains of those times; but, to strain even geneälogy to any kind of accommodation with them, it has been necessary to add a supposition, utterly unsupported by the authors abovementioned, that there were two extraordinary personages kings of Elis of the name of Iphitus, two extraordinary personages of the name of Lycurgus legislators of Sparta, and so

Pausan. l. 5. c. 8.

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of many others who, at the distance of from one to two centuries one from the other, bore the same name, did the same or similar things, and acquired the same reputation.

The inquiry then, such as I have been able to make, on this dark and intricate subject, leads me to the following conclusions. I have not the least difficulty, with Newton, to reject, as fictitious, that personage whom chronologers have inserted in their catalogue of kings of Crete by the name of the first Minos; because his existence not only is unwarranted, but contradicted by what remains from Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, and Strabo, concerning the only Minos whom those authors appear to have known[35]. With scarcely more doubt and upon similar grounds I join in the rejection of Erichthonius, together with the second Cecrops and the second Pandion, from the list of kings of Athens. I cannot, however, hold with the great philosopher, that Gelanor king of Argos, and Danaüs the leader of the Egyptian colony, were cotemporary with Eurystheus, king of Mycenæ; because the supposition is not only unsupported, but contradicted by testimony equal to any concerning those times; indeed by the whole tenor of early historical tradition. We come next to the period which Homer has illustrated; and concerning this, considered by itself, the difference among authors has been comparatively none. In proceeding then to the dark ages which follow, I have no doubt in shortening the period from the return of the Heracleids to the institu-

See note 23 ch. 1. sect. 3. of this Hist.

Newton's Chronology, p. 137.

[35] Diodorus Siculus, in his fourth book, (c. 62.) mentions two kings of Crete of the name of Minos. But the traditions of the Cretans themselves, reported in his fifth book, (c. 79.) effectually contradict the existence of more than the one celebrated personage of that name, acknowleged by the writers mentioned in the text.

tion of the Olympian festival by Iphitus. The number of years that passed can be calculated only upon conjectural grounds; but Newton's conjecture, if not perfectly unexceptionable, appears so far the most probable as it is most consistent with historical tradition, and even with what I hold to be the best chronological authorities, those of Strabo and Pausanias. For the period then of a hundred and eight years, between the institution of the festival by Iphitus and the first Olympiad, or that in which Coræbus won, I look upon it as meerly imaginary; its existence being strongly contradicted by Strabo and Pausanias, and supported by no comparable authority. I am less able to determine my belief concerning the dates of the Messenian wars; nor can I satisfy myself concerning those of Attic or Corinthian history. In the former cases the business was only to detect falsehood; here we have the nicer task to ascertain truth. Upon the whole, however, Newton appears to have strong reason on his side throughout. He seems, indeed, to have allowed too little interval between the legislation of Draco and that of Solon; and perhaps this is not the only instance in which his shortening system has been carried rather to an extreme: but where centuries are in dispute, we must not make difficulties about a few years. It would be of some importance, if it were possible, to determine the age of that remarkable tyrant of Argos, Pheidon, the most powerful Grecian prince of his time, the first who coined silver in Peloponnesus, the first who established a standard for the weights and measures used over the whole peninsula, and who, as head of the Heracleid families, and legal heir of Hercules, claimed, and by the prevalence of his power assumed, the presidency of the Olympian festival. This last circumstance, were the Olympian register perfect, should

Herodot. l. 6. c. 127. Strabo, l. 8. p. 355.

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have put his age beyond question: yet authors who possessed the best means of information are not to be reconciled concerning it. Pausanias says that Pheidon presided in the eighth Olympiad. But, according to Strabo, the Eleians presided without interruption to the twenty-sixth; and, if the copies of Herodotus are faithful, Pheidon must have lived toward the fiftieth Olympiad, where Newton would fix him. But the copies of Herodotus are not without appearance of defect where Pheidon is mentioned. The chronologers have been desirous of imputing error to those of Strabo, which assert that Pheidon was tenth in descent from Temenus: they would have him but tenth from Hercules; and thus they would make Strabo agree with Pausanias and with the marbles. But this does not complete their business; for Strabo will still contradict the presidency of Pheidon in the eighth Olympiad. Moreover that writer, as his copies now stand, is consistent with himself; and, upon Newton's system, consistent with Herodotus. It can scarcely be said that Pausanias, as his copies stand, is consistent with himself: at least he is very deficient when it was clearly his desire to give full information. I am therefore inclined, with Newton, to suppose an error in the date which stands assigned, as on his authority, for the presidency of Pheidon. But when precisely Pheidon did preside, it should seem even Strabo could not learn to his satisfaction; otherwise he would probably have named the Olympiad, and not have dated meerly by the pedigree. That ready method, used by the Greek chronologers, but greatly improved by the modern, for accommodating chronological difficulties by the supposition of two or more persons of the same name in the same situation, and sometimes of the same character and the

Pausan. l. 6. c. 22.

Strabo, l. 8. p. 355.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 127.

same fame, in different ages, has been employed to adjust the age of Pheidon, with the success which cannot fail to attend it; but we find no historical authority for the existence of more than one king of Argos of that name.

Having so far then risked the declaration of my own opinion, I shall not however presume to impose it upon the reader in any instance. I shall continue to insert in the margin Blair's dates together with Newton's, after having thus given the best preparatory assistance in my power to direct the choice between them; sorry that I cannot better satisfy either my readers or myself. Some farther observations will occasionally occur in the sequel.

One circumstance more, however, it may be proper to advert to here. The period of the Grecian festivals being regulated by the revolutions of the moon, the time of those festivals, compared with the solar year, would vary, like the time of Easter and the other moveable feasts of the Christian church. But the Olympian festival ordinarily falling within our month of July, the Olympian year divided our year nearly in the middle. When we come to times of more exact chronology, this will be a circumstance to require attention. For the ages with which we have been hitherto, and shall for some space continue to be ingaged, it is of little importance.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the Southern Provinces of GREECE, from the Return of the HERACLEIDS to the Conquest of MESSENIA by the LACEDÆMONIANS.

SECTION I.

Recapitulation of Events in Greece. General Change of Governments from Monarchal to Republican. Different Kinds of Government distinguished by the Greeks.

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WE HAVE now taken a view, such as remaining memorials afford means for, of the first population of Greece, and the rise of its principal cities: we have seen one common war prosecuted by a league of the chiefs of the different states, under a prince in whom was acknowleged a legal superiority over all, but without absolute power: we have remarked a great revolution, that changed the inhabitants and the government of the southern part of the country, checked the progress of arts and civilization, established new divisions of the Grecian people, and broke the former connection of the old. We have then traced the growth of three singular institutions, which assisted powerfully to hold still in some union a nation so divided, and prevent a relapse into utter barbarism.

The governments of the little states of Greece, in the first ages, we have observed, tho of no very re-

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gular and certain constitution, were all limited monarchies. Homer seems to have known no other: he mentions neither a pure republic, nor the absolute rule of one man. When, therefore, the Heracleids possessed themselves of Peloponnesus, they established everywhere that hereditary limited monarchy, which was the only government assimilated to the ideäs and temper of their age. The disposition toward a union of the whole nation into one kingdom, under the powerful monarchs of Argos, which had appeared before the Trojan war, was checked by the extensive calamities and confusion, which followed that expedition, and still more by the equality established among the Heracleid princes in Peloponnesus; and it was soon after finally dissipated through the opposite bias which the politics of the country universally assumed. Those vigorous principles of democracy, which had always existed in the Grecian governments, began to ferment; and, in the course of a few ages, monarchy was everywhere abolished; the very name of King was very generally proscribed; a commonwealth was thought the only government to which it became men to submit; and the term of Tyrant was introduced to denote those who, in opposition to these new political principles, acquired monarchal sway. We are very deficient of means to trace this remarkable revolution among so many independent little states: yet enough remains whence to gather a general ideä of the rise of that political system which obtained in ages better known; and, for the particular history of every commonwealth, it has been transmitted more or less perfect, nearly in proportion to the importance of each among the concerns of the nation.

Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 684. & Isocr. Panath. p. 504. t. 2.

But to have a just ideä of the Grecian governments, especially in the republican ages, it will be

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necessary to hold in mind two circumstances by which they were widely distinguished in character from the principal states of modern Europe; first, the narrowness of their several territories, and, secondly, the universally established system of slavery, through which the free population was everywhere small, even in proportion to its territory. Already in that age which Homer has described, slaves were common in Greece; but their proportional numbers were afterward very much increased. Among the many and great political evils incident to the allowance of slavery, two are eminent: First, a large, and generally the larger part of the population, is excluded from any interest in the country; and, secondly, among the free people, between the rich and the poor there can be little community of interest. The rich, where slaves abound, can dispense with the labor of the poor; and the poor profit in no way from the prosperity of the rich: an interference of interest almost alone leads to any intercourse between them. The consequences we shall find forming one of the most prominent features of the insuing history.

But the several states of the monarchal age of Greece were not more extensive or powerful than the feudal baronies of modern Europe; and yet when kingly sway was abolished, they were found generally too large for the republican constitution, which succeeded. For, in the narrowness of the territory of every Grecian state, and the want of a controling power over all, while the disposition of the people was restless and warlike, it was generally impossible to cultivate, with reasonable hope of injoyment, any land far from a fortified town: in the poverty of governments, and nonexistence of taxes, the owners of the neighboring fields must be the

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garrison. Nor was it only to defend the narrow territory against hostile neighbors, that it was necessary for every citizen to be a soldier, but still more to hold a sure superiority over the slaves, generally much more numerous than the citizens. For persons thus always uniting the civil and military character, some municipal administration, adapted to both, would be indispensable. The questions then arose, What should be the relation of this government to that of the capital? What should be their common, and what their separate rights? Under monarchal supremacy the adjustment was easier: for, each town preserving its municipal polity, the prince's superintending authority, his military command, his presidency over the religion of the state, and his power in general to direct the executive government, would be as willingly acknowleged by the inferior towns as by the capital. But, after the abolition of monarchy, the people of the capital generally claimed that sovereinty over the people of the nferior towns, which the kings had before held; a sovereinty, in their hands, unavoidably invidious, and likely to be oppressive; because the interests of the parties were, in many points, distinct, in some opposite. The people, therefore, of the inferior towns, having arms in their hands, and walls to protect them, and often means for obtaining allies to assist them, seldom failed to assert independency. In some provinces a federal union was maintained. In two only, Attica, through the constitution of Theseus, and Laconia, through that which we shall find established by Lycurgus, one constitutional supreme authority pervaded the whole as one state.

The division of Greece then into little states unnumbered, the variety of political customs naturally arising among them, even while monarchs presided,

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the various changes that took place, according to circumstances, upon the abolition of monarchy, the continual struggles, afterward, of discordant interests among the people, and frequent revolutions insuing, gave occasion to various distinctions and definitions of governments, which were afterward, with more or less accuracy, adopted by the Romans, and from them have been received into all the languages of modern Europe. The Greeks distinguished, at least in theory, six simple forms: four legal and admitted; two not of acknowleged legality, but generally supported by violence. The legal were Monarchy, Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy: the illegal, Tyranny, and Assumed or Tyrannical Oligarchy.

Aristot. Polit.

But absolute MONARCHY, as we have already observed, was unknown among the Greeks as a legal constitution. The title of KING therefore implied, with them as with us, not a Right of Absolute Power, but a Legal Superiority of Dignity and Authority in One person above all others of the state, and for their benefit[1]. The peculiar and most indispensable rights of Royalty were Religious Supremacy and Military Command. In the early ages Kings also commonly exercised Judicial Authority. But Legislation seems never to have been regularly within their single prerogative. After the general abolition of Monarchy in Greece, if a Citizen of a Commonwealth, through whatsoever means, acquired Monarchal Power, his government was intitled TYRANNY, and himself TYRANT: names which seem not to have been originally terms of reproach; tho such monarchy was generally very deservedly reprobated.

Homer. passim. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13. Polyb. l. 6. p. 455. Aristot. Polit. l. 3. c. 1. & 14. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. l. 5. Arist. Polit. l. 3. c. 14.

Corn. Nep. vit. Miltiad.

[1] Ἐγγενομένου γὰρ, ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσι διαφέροντος, βασιλεία ἀν κληθείη, κ. τ. ε. Plat. de Rep. l. 9. p. 576. Accordingly he calls his republic Βασιλευομένη πόλις.

SECT. I.

A distinction of families into those of Higher and Lower Rank, appears to have obtained very early throughout Greece; and nowhere more than at Athens, where, by the constitution of Theseus, the EUPATRIDS, or NOBLY BORN, like the Patricians of Rome, formed a distinct order of the state, with great privileges[2]. With the downfall of Monarchy, however, Hereditary Nobility seems to have declined everywhere; and, tho Family was always considered, yet Wealth became the principal criterion of Rank. But daily experience, among the Greeks, proving that Military Force may always command Civil Authority, the two were, in all their republics, united in the same persons; every citizen being bound to Military Service. Equally then the necessity of the commonwealth, and the choice of the individual, would decide that the rich should serve on horseback; and thus was creäted, in the principal republics, a Rank of Citizens determined by their ability to serve in War on Horseback, at their own expence. Such was the origin of KNIGHTHOOD in Rome, and since in the feudal kingdoms of Europe. In many Grecian states, however, the noble, or the rich, or both together, held exclusively the principal authority; and the government was then denominated OLIGARCHY; meaning a government in which the supreme power is vested in a Few. Where the Few, as they became emphatically called, remained contented with the prerogatives of the antient hereditary kings, leaving rights to the people, so established as to secure an impartial administration of equal law, it was deemed a just and Constitutional Oligarchy[3]. But, where contests arising, as

Diodor. Sic. l. 1. c. 28. Plut. vit. Thes.

Herodot. l. 8. c. 124. Xen. de Re Eq. c. 2. Arist. Polit. l. 4. c. 3.

Strab. l. 10. p. 481, 482.

[2] Aristotle distinguishes the noble by the title of εὐγενέσερον. Polit. l. 4. c. 4.

[3] Ὀλιγαρχία ἰσόνομος. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 62.

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often happened, between the FEW and the MANY (which became the distinguishing appellation of the lower people) and the Few obtained the superiority, not without a violent, and perhaps a bloody struggle, they would not always, and sometimes could not safely, be moderate in the exercise of power. Thus arose Tyrannical Oligarchy.

ARISTOCRACY, signifying government by the Better people, was a phrase of more dubious import, inasmuch as the question would always remain, Who were the better people? The Few, whether legally, or by violence, or not at all established in power, commonly assumed the title to themselves[4]; and gave that of Aristocracy to any government in which they, or persons of their sort, held the principal power. Among the moderns, generally the term Aristocracy has been used as equivalent to Constitutional Oligarchy; an application of it apparently first proposed by Aristotle, on account of the discredit which the frequency of a tyrannical assumption of power by the Few, brought upon the name of Oligarchy. But, both before and after that philosopher, the term Aristocracy was more received, among the Greeks, as the proper appellation of those governments in which the supreme authority was committed, by the people themselves, to persons elected for their merit; Oligarchy remaining always the ordinary Grecian term for governments in which the noble or the rich presided, as a separate order of the state.

Aristot. Polit. l. 4. c. 6. & 7.

DEMOCRACY signified Government by the People at large; all the Freemen of the state in assembly forming the Legal Soverein, Absolute, and Uncontrolable. But as Democracy was beyond all other governments subject to irregular, improvident, and

[4] Καλοὶ κἀγαθοί.

SECT. I.

tyrannical conduct, where unchecked by some balancing power intrusted to a few, it became distinguished by the opprobrious title of Ochlocracy, Mob-rule.

The states of Greece, whose government was in any degree settled, had mostly some mixture of two or more of these forms. A simple monarchy, indeed, would be despotism and tyranny: a simple oligarchy but the tyranny of an association, instead of the tyranny of an individual; and a simple democracy scarcely above anarchy: yet those evils we find frequently existing among the Grecian cities. From the various mixture, however, of these simple forms, decided whether by accidental custom, or by the various prevalence of various interests, arose new distinctions, and sometimes new names. The mixture of oligarchy and democracy, in which the oligarchal power was superior, yet the democratical sufficed to secure freedom and equal right to the people, might, according to Aristotle, be properly distinguished from simple oligarchy by the more honorable title of Aristocracy. That mixture where the democratical power prevailed, yet was in some degree balanced by authority lodged in steddier hands, is distinguished by the same great author by the name of Polity; and, according to Polybius, a due blending of the three powers, monarchal, aristocratical, and democratical, was necessary to constitute what might properly be termed a Kingdom[5].

Aristot. Polit. l. 4. c. 6. & seq.

Polyb. l. 6. init.

[5] It is of importance, in considering antient, or indeed any forein politics, to be careful not to be misled, and in treating of them, not to mislead, by names; and if our language wants words to give the precise meaning of Grecian political terms, it will be no matter of wonder to us, when we consider that the several nations of modern Europe, whose governments have mostly had a common origin, are unable, each in its own language, to express the political terms of its nearest neighbors. Thus the English is without words perfectly synonymous with

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It may here perhaps be a digression neither in itself absolutely improper, nor intirely useless for illustration of the subject before us, to observe that the British Constitution is compounded of All the Legal simple forms acknowleged by the Greeks, Monarchy, Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. Monarchy with us perfectly accords with the Grecian ideä of Kingly government. The Lords form the Oligarchal part of the constitution; and the House of Commons properly the Aristocratical; being composed of persons elected by the People to Legislative Authority for Merit real or supposed. The Democratical Principle, Equal Law, or, in the Greek term, Isonomy, singularly pervades the whole;

the French Gentilhomme, Noble, Bourgeois, Roturier; and no forein language can convert with precision our terms Noble, Lord, Commoner, and many others. But in the Greek, beyond most languages, political terms are found of undefined import; because, in the several Grecian republics, often where names were the same, things differed. Thus the term Δῆμος, generally meaning the lower people exclusively of the higher, and commonly not ill translated either by the Latin Plebs, or the English Commonalty, in the democratical state of Athens included all the people, noble as well as plebeian. In the time of Isocrates, the term Ἀριστοκρατία seems hardly to have been appropriated to any form of government. That writer acknowleges only three simple kinds, Oligarchy, Democracy, Monarchy (1); and he applies the term Aristocracy as a title of compliment to the Democracy of Athens; distinguishing it, as a well-constituted Democracy, from those ill-formed, or unformed governments, which might deserve the name of Ochlocracy. Polybius, as may be seen in the beginning of his sixth book, uses the term Aristocracy nearly in the same manner. The term Μοναρχία, unqualified, appears always to have signified Absolute Monarchy; from which Polybius, conformably to Plato's use of the term, distinguishes limited or balanced Monarchy by the title of Βασιλεία. Plato indeed gives to his republic, in different places, the several titles of Βασιλευομένη πολις, Αριστοκρατία, and Πολιτεία. Xenophon, in the beginning of his Agesilaus, enumerates the ordinary forms of government under the titles of Δημοκρατία, Ὀλιγαρχια, Τυραννὶς, Βασιλεία. The Lacedæmonian government, where royal power was so excessively limited, is his example of the Βασιλεία.

(1) Panath. p. 514. ed. Paris. Auger.

the privileges of the Peer extending in no degree to his family, and the descendants even of the Blood Royal being PEOPLE, subject to the same laws, the same burdens, and the same judicature with the meanest citizen. Rights of Election, Trial by Jury, and Provincial Offices, together with the Right of Addressing and Petitioning either the executive or any branch of the legislature, form a large Democratical Power, more wisely given, and more wisely bounded, notwithstanding some defects, than in any other government that ever existed[6]. SECT. I.

SECTION II.

Summary of the Histories of Crete, Argos, the Calaurean Confederacy, Corinth, Sicyon, Achaia, Eleia, Arcadia.

WE have seen that, in the large and valuable iland of CRETE, a regular free government, under the presidency of an hereditary prince, was established almost before Grecian history can be said to begin. The naval power acquired by Minos decayed after SECT. II.

[6] The Right of EQUAL LAW, the peculiar boast of the English constitution, is derived from the Anglosaxon government. It is declared more than once in the Anglosaxon laws yet extant; but never was more emphatically expressed than in a phrase of the laws of Edgar: Ic pille, says the royal Legislator, speaking with the authority of his Witenagemote, þæt ælc man ꝑy Folcꝛihtep pyꝛðe, ꝺe eaꝛme ꝺe eaꝺiꝺ (1); which, notwithstanding the general energy of the English language, can scarcely be rendered in modern terms with equal force. This it was for which our ancestors contended, when, in the reigns of the early Norman princes, they so often and so earnestly demanded the restoration of the Saxon laws: and this it was that gave origin to the JUDICIUM PARIUM AUT LEGEM TERRÆ of Magna Charta, which that famous deed has sanctified as the birthright of every Englishman, the FOLKRIGHT of the land.

(1) L.L. Anglosax. D. Wilkins. p. 77.

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him, and the Argian princes gained the superiority in the Grecian seas, together with the sovereinty of the smaller ilands nearest to the continent of Greece. Yet Idomeneus, grandson of Minos, and commander of the Cretan troops in the Trojan war, was among the most powerful of the Grecian chiefs of his time. We are assured by Homer that this prince was one of the few who returned safe from that expedition; and no considerable revolution in Crete seems to have been known either to Homer or Hesiod. It must however have been soon after them that monarchy was abolished there. What caused the revolution, or how it was effected, we have no authentic information: but some very important consequences are strongly authenticated. The government established in the room of monarchy could not maintain itself intire; it fell into pieces, the principal towns separating themselves into independent commonwealths. The Cretan power and the Cretan character then sunk together, never to rise again. As a military people indeed, the Cretans always supported a considerable reputation, and their naval skill became proverbial. But their military prowess, except when, in later times, exerted in hired service, was confined to wars among themselves, and their naval exploits are unheard of but in piracy. While their laws, tho greatly altered, held fame for what they had been, their national character for want of probity became infamous; nor ever, after the Trojan war, was Crete of any considerable weight in the scale of Grecian politics[7].

Odyssee, l. 3. v. 191.

Strabo, l. 10. p. 481.

[7] Κρῆς πρὸς Αἰγινήτην seems to have been an early proverb of nearly the same import as our English, Set a thief to catch a thief. Polybius, in the fourth, and still more particularly in the sixth book of his history, speaks strongly to the infamy of the Cretan character, and even denies all merit to the Cretan laws and constitution; which were probably in his

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Of the states on the continent of Greece, Argos was among the first to abolish monarchy; or, however, so to reduce its powers that we hardly perceive among historians whether it existed or no. The Argian government is said to have become republican so early as on the death of Ceisus, son of Temenus, founder of the Heracleid dynasty. But neither was Argos fortunate in the change. In its defective history indeed we read of scarcely anything but disorders, and those often of extraordinary violence. In general we learn that the higher and lower ranks were continually at variance, but the democratical faction was mostly superior: the priesthood had peculiar authority: sometimes tyrants raised themselves over all, and once the slaves got possession of the city, and filled the magistracies. Originally an ill-constituted government, no legislator of superior wisdom and probity ever acquired the power, no fortunate train of circumstances ever occurred of themselves, to unite liberty and administration upon a firm and even basis. One famous tyrant, Pheidon, lineal successor of the Heracleids, a prince of great abilities but no moderation, raised himself, rather than his country, to a superiority which ceased with him. Under its republican government, impotent abroad as unhappy at home, Argos finally lost that preëminence which under monarchal rule it had obtained among the Grecian states. Far from leading the affairs of Peloponnesus, every little town of Argolis itself resisted the Argian dominion: Mycenæ

Pausan. l. 2. c. 19.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 83.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 127. Strabo, l. 8. p. 358. Pausan. l. 6. c. 22.

time much altered from what, as he says, the ablest of the elder writers, Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, and Plato, held in high esteem. The change indeed is particularly remarked by Strabo: Περὶ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ὁμολογεῖται ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς χρόνους ἐτύγχανεν εὐνομουμένη, καὶ ζηλωτὰς ἑαυτῆς τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπέφηνεν.——Ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μετέβαλεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. Strab. l. 10. p. 477.

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long asserted independency: Asinæ, and even Nauplia, the immediate seaport of Argos, were preserved only by expulsion of the inhabitants: Hermionë, Trœzen, Epidaurus, Phlius, Sicyon, and the iland of Ægina, members of the Argian state under the Heracleid kings, but early separated after the abolition of hereditary first-magistracy, always maintained themselves as self-governed republics. Cynuria, Thyrea, and Prasiæ were conquered by Lacedæmon.

Strabo, l. 8. p. 373. Pausan. l. 14. c. 24.

It was apparently to resist the measures of the Argian people for inforcing obedience from so many towns, members of the Argolic kingdom, revolting from the republic, that an institution was formed which has escaped the notice of extant historians, but remains recorded by the geographer. In the little iland of Calaurea, at the mouth of the harbor of Trœzen, was held what he calls a sort of Amphictyonic council[8]. Calaurea was sacred to Neptune, whose temple there was among the most venerated and inviolable sanctuaries of Greece; a commodious place of meeting therefore for the councils of the oppressed. The assembly was composed of deputies from the revolted Argian cities, Hermionë Epidaurus, Ægina, Nauplia, and Prasiæ; but to these we find added Athens and the Minyeian Orchomenus, a title by which Orchomenus in Bœotia was distinguished from the town of the same name in Arcadia. Of the purpose of this meeting and of its transactions farther than a common sacrifice to the god, we have no direct information; but a common sacrifice implied some political connection, a defensive alliance at least, between the cities in whose name and for whose welfare it was offered.

[8] Ἀμφικτυονία τις. Strab. l. 8. p. 374.

It seems indeed not dubious that, tho the ostensible ceremonies of the meeting were principally religious, the ultimate object was political, and that the institution had considerable political importance. It is likely to have contributed much toward establishing the independency of the revolted Argian towns. How Athens became ingaged in this confederacy we are not directly informed; but we find Athens, from very early to very late times, always taking an interest in the troubles of Argos, and generally much connected with a party there. Any ground for the association of the Bœotian Orchomenus is less obvious.

But when the independency of the revolted Argian towns was established, and a connection formed with the powerful state of Athens, and with Orchomenus, perhaps the ally of Athens, the confederacy would in its turn be formidable to Argos; and thus, apparently, it became an object for Argos itself to be a member of that league which had been originally formed for the purpose of resisting its power. The opportunity offered, when Nauplia was taken and its people were expelled by the Argians. Whether the Nauplians were become obnoxious, and the Argians had ingratiated themselves, or whether the fear only of an overbearing power decided the allied cities, the claim of Argos to send representatives for Nauplia to the Calaurean council was allowed, and Argos thus became a member of the confederacy. A similar policy appears to have prompted the Lacedæmonians, who, on reducing Prasiæ under their dominion, or receiving it into their protection, claimed to send representatives for that town, and Lacedæmon accordingly was added to the Calaurean league.

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But this accession of the greater Grecian republics, instead of giving permanent splendor and importance to the Calaurean council, seems to have been the immediate cause of its sinking into insignificancy. While the purpose was to maintain a league among the Argolic towns for general defence, the council was equal to its object, and for its object respectable. But when, by the allowed independency of those towns, this object vanished, to regulate the jarring interests of Athens, Argos, and Lacedæmon, which should have succeeded as the business of the meeting, was what those states would scarcely submit to the votes of deputies from the little cities of Epidaurus, Hermionë, Ægina, and Orchomenus. The political business of the assembly therefore ceased, and the importance attached to the religious ceremonies alone seems to have preserved it from utter oblivion. But as, among the circumstances of Grecian history, nothing more marks the general character of the national politics, so nothing will more deserve the consideration of the modern politician, than the various attempts toward federal union among the republics, and the inefficacy of those attempts.

We have already remarked the fortunate situation of CORINTH, by which that city became very early the greatest emporium of Greece. It was fortunate also in its constitution, which it is said to have owed to Pheidon, a prince of uncertain age, but who has been supposed nearly cotemporary with Lycurgus. Monarchy, the balanced monarchy of early times, florished there, without violence or commotion to ingage the notice of history, longer than in any other of the principal Grecian cities, Sicyon alone excepted. At length the Bacchiads (a numerous branch of the royal family, so named from their ancestor

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 6.

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Bacchis, fifth monarch in succession from Aletes) put to death Telestes the reigning prince, and assuming the government in association, formed an Oligarchy. But still the laws and the spirit of the old constitution were in large measure preserved. An annual magistrate presided, with the title of Prytanis, but with very limited prerogatives; and tho oligarchies were generally odious, yet Corinth flourished under the Bacchiads. Syracuse and Corcyra, Corinthian colonies, appear to have been, under their administration, subject to the mother-country. Afterward they acquired independency: but the early power and wealth of both, and still more the friendly connection of Syracuse with the parent state, remaining through many ages, prove the wisdom with which they were settled. Syracuse requires a history by itself. Corcyra founded early its own colonies Epidamnus and Apollonia in Illyria. After the Bacchiads had held the administration of Corinth during some generations, they were expelled by Cypselus; who, according to the Grecian writers, in his own person restored monarchy, or, as it became popular to phrase it, tyranny; tho, as superior wisdom and virtue alone never were supposed to give a claim to the titles of king or tyrant, it scarcely appears by what right Cypselus bore either[9]. He was in truth the head of a party, by the strength and through the favor of which he ruled. Determined to rest his authority, and even his safety, wholly on his good deeds and his power of attaching to himself the affections of men, he constantly refused the invidious, but not unusual, distinction of a guard, to protect

Pausan. l. 2. c. 4. Olymp. 30. 3d year; B. C. 658. N. Bef. 1st Ol. 3 years; B. C. 779. B.

Ol. 43. 4. B. C. 605. N.

Ol. 30. 2. B. C. 659. B.

Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 12.

[9] Little or nothing seems fairly to be gathered from the loose invective, following a strange romantic story, which Herodotus puts into the mouth of a man pleading with vehemence the cause of a party. Herod. l. 5. c. 92.

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his person against those attempts of the defeated faction, which, from the common violence of party in Grecian commonwealths, might be enough to be apprehended. But tho his virtues, and particularly his moderation and clemency, were eminent, he is nevertheless by Grecian writers universally called tyrant of Corinth, and his government tyranny. His son Periander, who succeeded to his power, is not equally famed for the mildness of his administration; but for his abilities, learning, and munificent incouragement of learned men, was ranked among the sages celebrated by the title of the Seven Wise-men of Greece. Periander was also succeeded by his son, whose reign, however, was short. A commonwealth was then established; in which enough was retained of the oligarchy to temper the turbulence and capriciousness of democratical rule: and Corinth, tho not the most renowned, had perhaps the happiest government of Greece. The local circumstances of the city appear indeed to have influenced the disposition of the people; directing it to commerce and arts more than to politics, arms, or science; tho in these also they acquired their share of fame. They, first among the Greeks, built vessels of that improved construction for war (whose form is now not certainly known) which we commonly distinguish by the Latin name Trireme; and the first sea-fight recorded in any history was between Corinth and its own colony of Corcyra. The Isthmian games, comparatively a late establishment, tho boasting of great antiquity, were celebrated within the territory and under the direction of the Corinthians, and brought them considerable advantages. Luxury indeed was the unfailing attendant upon wealth: but colonization and commerce no less certainly produced naval power;

Ol. 55. 4. B. C. 557. N.

Ol. 48. 4. B. C. 585. B.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13. Ol. 30. 4. B. C. 657. N. Ol. 29. 1. B. C. 664. B.

and Corinth, tho never singly formidable, was always respected among the Grecian states[10].

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Of all the cities of Greece, SICYON, reputed the oldest, had the good fortune to remain longest under that mild and steddy government, derived from the heroïc ages, in which hereditary princes presided, and fixed laws or customs, venerated for their antiquity, and loved for their proved utility, restrained the extravagant use equally of power in the chiefs and of liberty in the people. So late as the age of Solon this constitution remained in full vigor, when, under Cleisthenes, a prince of superior merit, Sicyon florished singularly, and even held a leading situation among the Grecian states. It was the misfortune of Sicyon that Cleisthenes had no son. His only daughter carried the moveable wealth of the family to Athens, by marriage with Megacles, head

Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 12. Herod. l. 6. Pausan. l. 2. & l. 10.

[10] Tho Pindar's business was panegyric, yet he would panegyrize upon the best grounds that his subject afforded; and he seems justly to have characterized Corinth in terms of eulogy that would have been but preposterously applied to most of the Grecian cities.

- - - - - - - - Γνώσομαι
Τὰν ὀλβίαν Κόρινθον, Ἰσθμίου
Πρόθυρον Ποσειδᾶνος, ἀγλαόκουρον.
Ἐν τᾷ γὰρ Εὐνομία ναίει, καὶ γυ-
νηταί τε Δίκα, πολίων
Ἀσφαλὲς βάθρον, καὶ ὁμό-
τροπος Εἰράνα, ταμίαι
Ἀνδράσι πλούτου, χρύσεαι
Παῖδες εὐβούλου Θέμιτος. Olymp. 13.

- - - - - - Let my lays
The fame of happy Corinth bear afar:
Which as a gate to Neptune's isthmus stands,
Proud of her blooming youth and manly bands.
There fair Eunomia, with her sister-train,
Blest Peace and Justice, hold their steady reign;
Who wealth and smiling ease on mortals show'r,
From Themis' genial care drawing their natal hour.
Pye's Translation of the
Olympic Odes not translated by West.

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of the illustrious house of the Alcmæonids there. No chief, of dignity above competition, remaining, Sicyon was torn by contending factions; and, under republican government, importance abroad, and happiness at home, sunk together.

Polyb. l. 2. p. 128. Strabo, l. 8. p. 383, 384.

ACHAIA remained, during some generations, united under monarchs, the posterity of Tisamenus son of Orestes. The tyrannical conduct of Gyges, or Ogygus, the last prince of that race, excited his subjects against him, and the twelve principal towns became so many independent and inconsiderable commonwealths. A federal union was preserved among them, but too imperfect for Achaia to take any important share in the political affairs of Greece.

The very singular circumstances of ELEIA, which in a great degree secluded its people from politics and war, have been already mentioned. But it was not possible, by any institutions, to destroy that elasticity given by the Author of nature to the mind of man, which continually excites to action, often palpably against interest, and which was strong in the general temper of the Greeks. Mostly indeed attached to rural business and rural pleasures, the Eleians confined their ambition to the flattering preëminence allowed them in the splendid assembly of principal people from every Grecian state at the Olympian festival, and the perhaps yet more flattering respect in which their sacred character was universally held; which was such that the armies of the most powerful states of Greece, having occasion to cross any part of the Eleian territory, surrendered their arms on entering, in trust to receive them again when they had passed the borders. Yet restless spirits arose, not to be so satisfied. Often the Eleians ingaged as auxiliaries in the wars of other states; generally indeed on pretence of asserting the cause

Strabo, l. 8. p. 358.

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of religion. But in that cause itself they could not agree among themselves. During some generations, while monarchy subsisted in the posterity of Iphitus, Eleia continued united under one government. But at length the spirit of democracy prevailed there as elsewhere in Greece, and with the same effects. Every considerable town claimed independency, or at least equality in confederacy with the rest, while Elis asserted authority over all; and Olympia became, for all, a great object of contention. Situated within the territory of Pisa, on the northern bank of the river Alpheius, which alone separated its precinct from that city, the Pisæans insisted that the right to the guardianship of the temple and superintendency of the festival was clearly theirs. The Eleians, on the contrary, claimed it exclusively. Wars arose between the two states: each endevored to gain allies; and at one time Pheidon, the powerful tyrant of Argos, interfering, assumed to himself, as hereditary representative of Hercules, the guardianship of the temple, and presidency of the festival. At other times the Pisæans prevailed, and they presided at some Olympiads: but at length, tho at what time we are not certainly informed, the Eleians destroyed Pisa, so that scarcely a ruin remained; and thenceforward, excepting in the hundred and fourth Olympiad, when the Arcadians violently interfered, they held the presidency undisturbed while the festival existed[11]. The other towns of Eleia then mostly fell under their dominion.

Herodot. l. 4. c. 148.

Strabo, l. 8. p. 353.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 127. Strabo, l. 8. p. 358.

Strabo. l. 8. p. 355. Diod. Sic. l. 15. c. 78. Pausan. l. 5. c. 10. & l. 6. c. 22.

[11] We have no connected history of these events from any one antient author, and the scraps of information remaining from writers of best authority are not easily reconcilable. Pausanias affirms that the Eleians ingaged Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, to protect them against the Pisæans in the celebration of the eighth Olympiad (1). According to that report, to which Strabo gave most credit, where it appears he esteemed none

(1) b. 6. c. 22.

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ARCADIA was early divided into many small states, of which some retained long the regal form of government; or, to use modern terms perhaps more analogous to the circumstances, they were under the rule of chiefs like the Scottish highland lairds: for the country, wholly inland, being mostly very mountainous, and the people generally herdmen, the towns were small, and their inhabitants unpolished. Some improvements, however, would come to them from their neighbors: some were suggested by necessity. When bordering states increased in power, the scattered inhabitants of mountain villages were no longer equal to the protection of their herds and their freedom: for men, together with their cattle, were still principal objects of plunder. Toward the frontier,

certain, the Eleians held the presidency of the festival till the twenty-sixth Olympiad (2). He does not say how or by whom they were then deprived of it; but in a prior passage he relates that Pheidon, king of Argos, tenth in descent from Temenus the Heracleid, and the most powerful Grecian prince of his age, assumed to himself the presidency of the Olympic festival (3). A similar account is given by Herodotus (4). Strabo adds, that the Eleians, utterly dissatisfied, did not register that Olympiad, but reckoned it among what they termed Anolympiads; and that, upon occasion of this violence of the Argian prince, they first departed from their original principle of trusting wholly to their sacred character for security, and applied themselves to the practice of arms. With assistance from Lacedæmon, they at length defeated Pheidon, and acquired the territories of the Pisatis and Triphylia. He assigns no dates to any of these events. But Pausanias says that the Pisæans, under their prince Pantaleon, ejected the Eleians in the thirty-fourth Olympiad, and held the presidency of the festival till after the forty-eighth. He has not marked with precision the time when the Eleians recovered it, and destroyed Pisa; but he says the Eleians called all those festivals, at which the Pisæans presided, Anolympiads, and did not register them in their catalogue. These discordancies and deficiencies, in the accounts of two such authors as Strabo and Pausanias, deserve the consideration of those who desire to know what credit is due to the Olympic chronology for the times before the Persian war.

(2) Strab. l. 8. p. 355. (3) p. 355. (4) b. 6. c. 127.

where the most formidable neighbor arose, the land, tho high above the level of the sea, spred more into plains, and afforded opportunity for advantageous tillage. There nine villages uniting made Tegea a considerable city; and five others joined to form that of Mantineia. SECT. II. Strabo, l. 8. p. 337.

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History of Lacedæmon. Legislation of Lycurgus.

THE conquering Heracleids had scarcely decided upon the division of Peloponnesus, when Aristodemus, to whose share Laconia fell, died, leaving newborn twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles. The mother, it is said, through impartial fondness, refusing to declare which was the elder, it was determined that both those princes should succeed to the throne of their father, with equal authority, and that the posterity of each should inherit the rights of their respective ancestors. Laconia was esteemed a territory of inferior value to both Argolis and Messenia; yet, so early as the Trojan war we find Lacedæmon reckoned among the richest and most powerful cities of Greece. The divided royalty indeed, now established, was apparently a form of government little likely to be lasting in itself, or to give power or happiness to the people, who lived under it: but as, in the natural body, a fever often leads to a renewal of the constitution, so still more, in the political, advantageous establishments commonly owe their very conception to violent disorders. Jealousy, as might be expected, arose between the kings: but hence it became necessary for each to court the favor of the people: and while, in other Grecian states, SECT. III. Herodot. l. 5. c. 52. Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 683. t. 2. Pausan. l. 3. c. 1. Strabo, l. 8. p. 366. Pausan. l. 4. c. 3.

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Plut. Vit. Lycurg. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 65. Isoc. Panath. p. 543. t. 2. Strabo, l. 8. p. 365. Plut. vit. Lycurg. Pausan. l. 3. c. 2. & 7.

the tyranny of the one king drove the multitude to assume, by violent means, the supreme power to themselves, in Lacedæmon the concessions of the two gave by degrees such importance to the people, that the royal authority scarcely remained an object of either terror or envy. Thus, however, the powers of government were at length so weakened, that the worst of all tyrannies, anarchy, prevailed in Sparta. The evils of this lawless situation appear to have been sometimes checked by abler princes, who led the contentious spirit of the people to exert itself in forein wars, in which some successes were obtained. Little, however, of importance occurs among the traditions concerning the Lacedæmonian state, till Lycurgus, of the race of Procles, succeeded his brother Polydectes in the throne. Nor are we informed with the certainty that might be expected, in what age, or even with what cotemporaries, this extraordinary man lived. But the full assurance we have of the subsistence, through many centuries, of that wonderful phenomenon in politics and in the history of humanity, the Spartan system, the establishment of which is by the strongest concurrence of authorities referred to him, may teach us that we ought not to refuse our belief to a relation of facts meerly because they are strange; and moreover, that the uncertainty of the date of any event in those early ages, when no regular method of dating was in use, is no argument that the event itself is uncertain[12].

[12] The most judicious writers of antiquity have contributed to the perplexity about the age of Lycurgus. See Thucydides, b. 1. c. 18. Plato in Minos, Xenophon of the Lacedæmonian Commonwealth, and Aristotle on Government. Eratosthenes and Apollodorus the chronologers undertook to decide upon it; but Plutarch, in the beginning of his Life of Lycurgus, sufficiently lets us know what credit is due to their decision. Perhaps the best modern attempt to reconcile the discord of antient

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According to that account which Plutarch seems to have preferred, Lycurgus was fifth in descent from Procles, and tenth from Hercules. When the scepter devolved to him by the death of his brother, the widow of that prince was breeding. He was no sooner assured of this, than he publicly declared that he held the throne thenceforward upon trust only, to resign it to his brother's child, if it should prove a son; and dropping accordingly the title of king, he retained the royal power as Prodicus or protector only. I proceed with this anecdote, which found credit with the best antient historians, and may the rather deserve notice as tending to account for that veneration borne to the character of Lycurgus, which inabled him to execute what an ordinary legislator could not, without extreme imprudence, have attempted. The princess, we are told, more solicitous to remain a queen than to become a mother, caused private intimation to be given to Lycurgus that, if he would marry her, no child of his late brother's should ever interfere with his possession of the throne. The protector thought it prudent, in the weakness of government and licentiousness of the times, to dissemble his abhorrence of so atrocious a proposal. He only insisted that the queen should not indanger her own life and health by any attempts to procure abortion, and he would provide, he said, that the child when born should be no hindrance to their mutual wishes. When she drew near her time he placed trusty persons in waiting about her, whom he directed, if she produced a girl, to leave it to the women, but if a boy, to bring it immediately to him wheresoever he might be. It

Plut. Vit. Lycurg.

Strabo, l. 10. p. 482. Plut. vit. Lycurg. Justin. l. 3. c. 2.

authors on this subject, as far as the succession of the Lacedæmonian kings only is concerned, may be found in note 32, p. 31, of Wesseling's Herodotus.

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happened that he was supping in public with the principal magistrates when the queen was delivered of a son, which, according to command, was instantly carried to him. He received the child in his arms, and addressing himself to those present, 'Spartans,' he said, 'a king is born to you;' and immediately placed the infant in the royal seat. Observing then the joy which prevailed through the company, rather from admiration of his prudence and uprightness than from any cause they had to rejoice at the birth of a son to the late king, he named the boy Charilaüs, which signifies the people's joy[13].

But notwithstanding the power and influence which Lycurgus derived from his high birth and high office, together with the esteem in which he was held by all good men, it was not difficult, amid the general lawlessness prevalent in Sparta, for the brother of the queen-mother to raise a strong faction against him. Finding it, therefore, no season to attempt that reformation in the state which he wished, he determined, being yet a very young man, to indulge his appetite for knowlege by visiting such forein countries as were most celebrated for art and science; the only way, in that early age, by which a desire of knowlege could be gratified. Voluntarily, or involuntarily, he left the administration of Sparta to his opponents, and passed to Crete; induced by its singular laws and institutions, hitherto the most renowned of Greece. There he formed an intimacy with Thales, a poet of great abilities, whom he ingaged so far in his designs as to persuade him to pass to Sparta, and, by popular poems adapted to the purpose, to prepare the minds of the people for those alterations of government and man-

Herodot. l. 1. c. 65.

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 8. Plut. Lyc.

Strabo, l. 10. p. 482. Plut. Lyc.

[13] Χαρίλαον ωνόμασε, διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντα; εἶναι περιχαρεῖς. Plut. Lycurg.

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ners which himself was already meditating. It is said that he also visited Asia Minor, where Homer's poems were then popular, and that on his return he first brought them into reputation in Greece. Ælian var. Hist. l. 13. c. 14.

The disorders of Sparta were now grown to a magnitude no longer supportable. The kings were without authority, the laws without efficacy, the anarchy was extreme, and all ranks suffered. Such is the account given by Plutarch, sufficiently consonant to what remains from earlier authors. As far as the scanty light afforded will inable us to discern objects through the dark mist of antiquity, it appears that those disorders arose principally from the ordinary source of sedition in all the antient republics; a tyrannical disposition in the rich, and a spirit of opposition with a disinclination to industry in the poor; hardly failing consequences of domestic slavery. At the same time the laws, being unwritten, were uncertain; and regal power, weak through division, leaned sometimes on either faction, and sometimes took opposite parts, unable to hold the balance between the two. In this situation of things the name of Lycurgus was frequently mentioned: his approved integrity, his unshaken courage, his extensive genius, his popular manners, and that power which above all others he possessed of commanding the minds of men, were recalled to public attention. At length it was agreed, by kings and people, to invite him to return to his country, and, in quality of legislator, to reform the state. He joyfully received the summons; but, in undertaking so arduous an office, he proceeded with the utmost circumspection to avail himself of whatever the temper and prejudices of the times offered, that might contribute to his success. He had already imperceptibly begun the business by the poems of Thales; poetry being

Herodot. l. 1. c. 65. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 18. Xen. de rep. Lac.

Justin. l. 3. c. 2. Plut. vit. Lycurg.

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in those days, while letters were little known, the general mean of popular instruction, and often successfully used to excite popular passion. But before he would exercise his new authority, he went to Delphi to procure the opinion of a divine sanction to his institutions. The directors of the oracle were in the highest degree favorable to his wishes; and he carried back that celebrated response, as Plutarch calls it, in which the Pythoness declared 'That he 'was singularly favored by the gods; himself more 'god than man; and that it should be given him 'to establish the most excellent of all systems of 'government.'

Plut. Lyc. Herodot. l. 1. c. 65. Xen. Mem. Socr.

Armed with this high authority, in addition to that before derived from the voice of his country, he returned to Sparta; having already, it should seem, formed his plan, not so properly for giving laws to a state, as for totally new-modelling a people, and making them other beings, different from all besides of human race. But, with ideäs of a boldness verging upon extravagance, he never failed to observe the most prudent caution in carrying them into execution. He began with assembling the principal citizens, to consult concerning a plan of reformation; but at this meeting he disclosed nothing of his own design. He then took opportunities to advise with his more particular friends privately: and with these he was freër in communication, opening to each more or less as he found them disposed. When he had thus formed a party strong enough to support his measures, the kings Archelaüs and Charilaüs still strangers to his purposes, he summoned an assembly of the people. As the multitude thronged the agora, that place in Grecian towns which served equally the purpose of a market and a general meeting for public debate, alarm was

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taken at the appearance of Lycurgus's confidential friends in arms. Charilaüs observing a tumult, unaware of the cause, and unprepared for defence, immediately fled to a neighboring temple; but receiving assurance that no violence was intended, and being naturally of a complying temper, he returned to the assembly, and joined his uncle's party. Archelaüs, with more inclination, was thus left with means too inadequate to attempt resistance, and Lycurgus proceeded unopposed. He immediately committed the executive power of the state to a senate composed of thirty persons; twenty-eight selected from among those leading men in whom he could most confide, with the two kings as presidents. To this body he gave also the most important part of the legislative authority; for laws were to originate there only. To the assembly of the people he intrusted meerly the power of confirming or annulling what the senate proposed, forbidding them all debate: the members only gave a simple affirmative or negative, without being allowed to speak even so far as to declare why they gave either. To the people, however, he committed the future election of senators, confining only their choice to persons who had passed their sixtieth year. The prerogatives of the kings consisted in being hereditary senators, commanders in chief of the armies, and high priests of the nation. Aristot. Polit. l. 3. c. 14.

We find it mentioned by Plato that, when the Heracleids, established themselves in Peloponnesus, the lands, throughout their conquests, were equally divided among their followers. If this were so, the next measure of Lycurgus would lose something of that appearance of extreme boldness with which it strikes, as it is ordinarily reported. All the evils that can arise in an unsettled ill-constituted govern- Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 684. t. 2.

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ment from the accumulation of wealth into few hands, were daily experienced in Sparta: the poor suffered from the oppression of the rich; the rich were in perpetual danger from the despair of the poor; and where laws neither restrained nor protected, dark fraud, or open and atrocious violence, were the unceasing produce of avarice, suspicion, and misery. To combat such inveterate and complicated mischief, said Lycurgus, by ordinary methods of criminal courts and penal laws, were replete with uncertainty, danger, and even cruelty, to a degree that cannot be foreseen. How much better were it, instead of arming the hand of the executioner against the effect, at once to remove the cause! He had begun his work by securing those of higher rank to his party, and by the establishment of the senate had placed almost all legal authority in their hands. But he did not mean a partial benefit: he would extend the advantage of his laws equally to all, leaving no distinction but of age and merit. In his present purpose he was sure of the most numerous party, the poor; and these, headed by himself, would immediately become the most powerful. We have no tradition that this measure, so opposite to the strongest passions and prejudices of mankind, produced any commotion. The principal land-owners were persuaded to part peaceably with their possessions, that they might preserve their authority; foreseeing probably that resistance would but occasion the loss of both. Thus was effected in Lacedæmon that extraordinary division of lands, which allotted to every family an equal share, and banished, according to Plutarch's expression, all distinction between man and man, other than what arose from the praise of virtuous, and the reproach of unworthy deeds. The whole territory of Laconia was divided into thirty-

Plut. Lyc.

nine thousand shares, nine thousand of which were assigned to the city of Sparta, the rest to other townships. SECT. III.

This regulation, however, would have been vain but for another which attended it: Lycurgus forbad absolutely all use of gold and silver. Coin he allowed, but of iron only; which was too weighty and cumbersome, in proportion to its value, for inordinate wealth to be easily either accumulated or used[14]. Among other objects which the legislator thus attained, was the check of forein commerce, and intercourse with strangers. The Spartan money was derided through Greece: forein ships, henceforward, were little seen in the ports of Laconia: flatterers, fortune-tellers, and pandars, says Plutarch, avoided the hostile territory; and all the trades subservient to luxury were effectually banished. The exchange only of the superfluous produce of the earth against useful forein commodities was permitted.

The next ordinance was not carried so quietly. Following in some degree the Cretan model, Lycurgus absolutely forbad that any man should live at home; strictly ordaining that all, even the kings, should eat at public tables only, where the strictest moderation and frugality should be observed. His former law struck at the root of luxury: this aimed at the destruction of every scattered seed; at the annihilation of every use of wealth, of the remotest desire to possess more than others. None of his innovations, we are told, gave so much offence. In an assembly of the people so violent an outcry was

Polyb. l. 6. p. 492.

[14] Iron money was not absolutely peculiar to Sparta, but that it was nearly so appears clearly from all the most authoritative antient writers who have mentioned it, and particularly from Polybius, b. 6. p. 492.

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raised against him that, apprehensive of the burst of popular passion, and of the advantage that might be taken of it by his particular enemies, he retired toward a neighboring temple. A youth named Alcander, of one of the first families of Sparta, among others, pursued him, and, as he turned, struck him in the face with a stick, and put out an eye. Lycurgus notwithstanding reached the temple; and finding that the multitude were not so mad in their fury as to forget the respect due in the opinion of the times to the sanctity of the asylum, he exhibited to them his lacerated countenance dropping with gore; and when he had at length procured silence and attention, spoke with such moderation of temper, and such force of persuasion, that he converted their rage into pity and remorse; insomuch that, on the spot, they delivered up Alcander to abide his judgement. Lycurgus drew advantage from every circumstance. Instead of condemning Alcander to punishment, he brought him, by gentle argument and ingaging behaviour, to condemn himself; and in the end gained him, from being his most violent opponent, to become his most strenuous partizan. Persisting then in his measure, he not only procured the establishment of it, but he went farther. The more completely to insure equality, and to repress every desire of superfluities, he directed that none should refuse to lend whatsoever he was not immediately using, and that any might take, even without asking, whatsoever he wanted of his neighbor's; being only bound to replace it undamaged. Private property thus was nearly annihilated.

Xenoph. de. Rep. Lacon. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 5.

These extraordinary changes being effected, he had little to fear from popular opposition to what farther he might wish to establish: the principal remaining difficulty was to provide for the permanency

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of what was already done. We are not informed with any certainty what progress letters had made in Greece in Lycurgus's time: but we are told that he would have none of his laws written: he would have them considered as oracles; as emanations from that divine response which sanctified the voice of his country, that had appointed him to the office of legislator: he would have them ingraved in the hearts of the people; and, to effect this, he endevored so to direct the education of the rising generation, that his institutions might be as a law of nature to them. In abolishing distinction of rank, it was his intention not to depress but to elevate his fellowcountrymen; to give every Lacedæmonian those advantages which, in other states, a few only can injoy; to make the whole people one family; every brother of which equally should receive the most liberal education, and equally live in the most liberal manner. The exercise of mechanical arts, and even of agriculture, was totally forbidden to free Lacedæmonians. Slavery therefore was necessary, and slaves must be numerous. For the law required that every Lacedæmonian should be, in the strictest sense of the modern term, a gentleman, without business but that of the state; for which, in peace and in war, it was the purpose of education equally to fit every one who bore the Lacedæmonian name.

And here, as in everything else, Lycurgus carried his views far beyond those of ordinary legislators. Having directed the institutions already mentioned against internal evils, of which wealth is elsewhere so plentiful a source, it was necessary now to provide against external violence: and while, for the first purpose, he made his fellowcountrymen a nation of philosophers, he would, for the other, make them a nation of soldiers, superior to all the rest of

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mankind. Indeed the large proportion of slaves in every Grecian state, not less than the small extent of territory, made this peculiarly necessary throughout Greece: and hence both the Spartan and Cretan legislators were induced to adapt their constitutions principally to a state of warfare. Lycurgus began with the care of children before their birth: he would have none born but strong and able men. In other countries great pains are taken to have the more useful brutes perfect in their kind. In England the science of breeding horses and dogs of the most generous temper, and highest bodily ability, has been carried to amazing perfection. Lacedæmon is the only country known in history where attention was ever paid to the breed of men. Lycurgus, considering those from whom the future race of Spartans were to spring as of high consequence to the state, gave very particular directions for the management of the young women. Instead of that confinement, and those sedentary employments of the distaff and the needle, to which the other Grecian ladies were in a manner condemned, he ordered that they should be exercised in running, wrestling, and throwing the quoit and the javelin; that they should live little within doors, and avoid those indulgences which elsewhere make those above the lowest rank of women generally so tender and helpless. Thus, he thought, both themselves would better support the pains of childbearing, and the children born of them would be more vigorous. It was customary among all the Greeks for the men to appear in public quite naked at their athletic exercises. Lycurgus directed that the young women should all, at certain festivals, appear in public without any covering, dance thus in presence of the young men, and sing, addressing

Plat. de Leg. l. 1. init.

themselves particularly to them[15]. That opinion of the sanctity of wedlock, and that respect for the purity of the marriage-bed, which were common through Greece, he thought in many instances inconvenient; and his morality was always made subservient to his political purposes. To be unmarried, and without children for the commonwealth, he caused to be accounted shameful: but it was indifferent who was the father, provided the child was a fine one[16]. For he reckoned all children to belong not so much to their parents as to the state, the common parent of all; and considering jealousy as a passion often mischievous, and always useless, he contrived to banish it from Sparta by making it ridiculous. Nevertheless, with a morality so loose, he insisted upon the strictest modesty of general behavior, both in women and in men. Virgins went with uncovered faces, but matrons veiled; their proper duty being to please their husbands only; and it was forbidden for any man to praise another's wife. Promiscuous concubinage indeed, every politician, independently of any moral consideration, would prevent; and Lycurgus found means, in his system, which, with any other, it would have been impossible to have put in practice. He made it disgraceful and criminal in young men to be seen in company with young women, even with their wives.

[15] This practice, as we learn from Plato, was not peculiar to Sparta, having been before established in Crete (1). The Athenian philosopher was so satisfied with it, that he would introduce it in his republic; but he nevertheless gives us to understand, that the Athenian people, in general, as well as all the rest of the antient world, thought of it nearly as modern Europeans would (2).

[16] Plato not only approved this, but proposed to carry the principle to a still greater extreme.

(1) Plat. de Leg. l. 5. p. 452. (2) Ibid. & p. 457.

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The married youth was to continue his exercises with the young men by day; he was to sleep in the common dormitory at night: and it was only by stealth, and with the utmost caution, that he could visit his bride. Tho it was held in itself right that he should visit her, yet shame, public rebuke, perhaps stripes, were the consequence of his being seen going or coming: insomuch that it was held creditable for a man that his wife should become a mother without having ever been seen in company with her husband. It is remarkable that, of all the people of Greece, among the rough and warlike Spartans only we find the women free and respected as they were among the northern nations; and it appears still more extraordinary when we consider what a morality was theirs. But desire of applause, and dread of shame, were what Lycurgus depended upon as mainsprings of his most singular political machine; and it seems to have been a very judiciously conceived part of his plan, to place the women upon that independent and respectable footing, which inabled them to be powerful, as they will always be willing, and generally just dispensers of such reward and punishment as applause can give or reproach inflict[17].

In all the Grecian republics of which we have any information, we find the lives of new-born children very little considered by the law: it was generally left to the parents to decide whether to rear or aban-

[17] The legislator's ideä appears to have been founded on the common manners and sentiments of the heroic ages. Homer represents Hector acknowleging fear of the reproaches of the Trojan ladies:

- - - - - - - - - Ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς
Αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ ΤΡΩΙΑΔΑΣ ἑλκεσιπέπλους,
Αἴ κε κακὸς ὣς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο.

Iliad. l. 6. v. 443.

don them. But the Spartan legislator, considering the state as the common mother, and individuals as comparatively without a right, would not leave the decision to the parents. All children, presently after birth, were examined by public officers appointed for the purpose; the well-formed and vigorous only were preserved: those in whom any defect either of shape or constitution appeared, were exposed without mercy to perish in the wilds of mount Taygetus. And that ignorance and prejudice might not, in Lacedæmon, as elsewhere, corrupt what nature had produced excellent, those who were judged worth preserving to the commonwealth, were delivered to the care of nurses, publicly provided, and properly instructed to coöperate judiciously with nature in the rearing of infants. At the age of seven years, the boys were removed to the public schools; no Lacedæmonian being permitted to educate his children otherwise than according to the mode prescribed by law. The masters were always chosen from among persons of the first consideration, and the schools were common places of resort for those of more advanced age; all of whom, according to that principle of patriotism which, above all things, Lycurgus took pains to inculcate, considering themselves as fathers not of their own only, but of all the children of the commonwealth, were attentive to watch the behavior of all, and to assist in preserving good order, and in promoting the acquisition of valuable accomplishments.

The business of education was not so much to give the knowlege of a great variety of things, as to form the passions, sentiments and ideäs, to that tone which might best assimilate with the constitution of the state; and so to exercise the abilities of both body

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and mind, as to lead them to the highest possible capacity for the performance of everything useful; particularly of everything useful to the commonwealth; for the love of their country was ever held out to the young Lacedæmonians as the polar star, which should influence all their actions, all their affections, all their thoughts. Letters were taught for use only, not for ornament. Indeed in Lycurgus's time books were scarcely known: but the spirit of his laws remaining still in force when litterature had arrived at meridian glory in other parts of Greece, the Spartans, tho always famed for wisdom, never became eminent for learning. In Spartan education, however, great attention was paid to conversation: loquaciousness was reprobated; but the boys were exercised at quickness in reply; and a concise sententious style of speech, with repartees and satirical jokes, was much incouraged. But what, above all things, were equally most valued as qualities, and most insisted on as accomplishments, were to be all-daring and all-patient, and to be highly sensible to applause and shame. It was with a view to these that Lycurgus established that incouragement to thieving among the Lacedæmonian boys, which has by some been esteemed the disgrace of his institutions. But those who select this circumstance for blame will, upon due consideration, be found to misconceive the legislator. His fundamental principle was, that the commonwealth was all in all: that individuals were comparatively nothing: that they had no right of property, nor even of life, but in subordination to the wants of the common parent. He had in consequence nearly abolished private property: he had in a manner annihilated equally honesty and dishonesty, by removing from his fellowcountrymen both want and riches. But education was to make the

Plut. Lac. διαγωγὴ init.

Spartan boys, in the highest possible degree, bold, vigilant, skilful, and obedient soldiers; with a strong point of honor, resting immediately on the desire of applause and fear of shame to themselves, but ever ultimately guided by the love of their country. With this principle and these views, the legislator directed that they should wear but one garment, which should serve equally in winter and summer: that they should sleep on no better bed than rushes, which themselves should gather. The same plain food he allowed to them as to the men; but in very scanty proportion, unless they could steal it. If they could rob a garden, or the messrooms, kitchens, or larders of the men, undiscovered, they were allowed to injoy the fruit of their boldness and skill: but, if detected in the attempt, they were punished severely; not for theft, but for aukwardness and unguardedness. The commonwealth, said the legislator, allows sustenance to you as to the men, but it requires many duties of you. Food shall be given you; sufficient for your support: but would you indulge in what more the appetite may crave, you must earn it. Whatever you can acquire by improving, through exercise in peace, that boldness, dexterity, and vigilance, which hereafter may be useful to the commonwealth in war, is yours: the commonwealth gives it you. This certainly was clearly understood; and it seems unquestionably to follow, that such acquisition of property, among the Spartan boys, had nothing of the immoral and disgraceful nature of theft in other countries.

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Xenoph. Lac. resp. & Anab. l. 4. c. 6. s. 11. 12. Plut. vit. Lyc. & Lac. ἐνιαυτ.

Education among the Spartans could scarcely be said to end. When boys approached manhood their discipline increased in strictness. To check, says Xenophon, the boiling passions of that critical period of life, the legislator augmented their stated la-

Xen. Lac. resp.

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bors, and abridged their leisure. Nor was there any remission but on military service: there many indulgences were allowed; insomuch that the camp was to the Lacedæmonians the scene of ease and luxury; the city that of labor, study, spare diet, and a discipline severe almost beyond conception. To ingage in earnest conflict with blows among one another; to stand while stripes were rigorously inflicted, and bear them without any external sign of a sense of pain; to support heat almost to suffocation, and to indure extreme cold, travelling over the country in midwinter, barefoot, and sleeping in the air; were among their regular exercises, from which none were excused. Even cleanliness of person, or, at least, any particular attention to it, was discouraged in the city; but, in the camp, not only neatness was required, but even ornament in dress was approved.

Plat. de Leg. l. 1. p. 633. t. 2.

Before the age of thirty, none were allowed to meddle with public affairs of any kind; and, even after that age, it was not reputable for a man to addict himself to either political or judicial business. But attendance upon the schools was every man's concern. Every man also gave a portion of his time to military and athletic exercises; and, as an amusement, hunting was greatly incouraged. Poetry having been successfully used in promoting the scheme of reformation, could not fail to find favor in the established system. Music followed of course. Together they made a necessary part of the ceremony and of the amusement of religious festivals; which were frequent at Sparta as in every other Grecian city. But all kinds of poetry and music were not allowed: the style of both was strictly under the restraint of the magistrate. Their hours of leisure from these avocations the Lacedæmonians mostly

spent in assemblies for the purpose of conversation; which they called, by a name peculiar to themselves, Leakhē; and to these much of their time was given. Of private business a Spartan could have but little. It was highly disreputable for his family to ingross his attention; and private study was scarcely less reprobated. For Lycurgus, as Plutarch remarks, would have his fellowcountrymen neither desire nor even know how to live by themselves, or for themselves. SECT. III.

It is the observation of that experienced and able politician Polybius, who saw the constitution of Sparta expiring, after a longer existence than any other commonwealth had then been known to injoy, that for the purposes of preserving civil freedom and political concord within the state, and of securing it against all violence from without, the institutions of Lycurgus seemed to have been conceived with more than human wisdom. Yet what to modern eyes most strikingly sets that extraordinary man above all other legislators is, that, in so many circumstances apparently out of the reach of law, he controled and formed to his own mind the wills and habits of his people. Thus he prescribed sobriety; and the Lacedæmonians were sober. Probably all legislators would prescribe sobriety, if they could hope to make the law effectual. But Lycurgus prescribed mirth to his people; and they were merry: nay, he prescribed a particular kind of mirth: the English proverb, Be merry and wise, was his rule; and the Spartans were ever famous for mirth guided by wisdom. He prescribed a peculiar style of conversation; and while Sparta existed, his people were remarkable for that style which, even now, is distinguished throughout Europe by the name of Laconic. He prescribed respect to age. This is a law of nature; Polyb. l. 6. p. 491.

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but no legislator ever succeeded like Lycurgus, in making a whole people, through many generations, uniformly obedient to it.—In other governments valuable institutions often have resulted from fortuitous concurrences or trains of circumstances; but in Lacedæmon all was directed by the comprehensive mind of the legislator, and in many instances we may clearly discover the process by which he produced his most singular effects. With regard to mirth and the style of conversation, for instance; he commanded that, during meals, questions should be put to the boys, to which ready but short answers were required. This was equally amusement and business for those of advanced years; and, in the scarcity of both allowed to the Spartans, was not likely to be neglected. Great attention, therefore, being given by those who superintended education, among whom were all the first characters of the state, both to the matter and manner of the answers, informing, correcting, applauding, as they found occasion, quickness and propriety in reply, together with a manner of speaking at once graceful, respectful, and determined, became habitual among the Lacedæmonians. It appears at first view very extraordinary that, prescribing modesty to the Spartan youth, he should reälly make them all modest. But this too was a regular consequence of his institutions. In other states, birth and possessions giving rank and authority, the young and the profligate are continually seen superior to the old and the worthy: there age can never find its due respect. But in Lacedæmon eminence and power were the meed of age and merit alone. That strict obedience, therefore, which was required of the young; that constantly watchful eye which was kept over them by the aged; not by a few appointed for the purpose, but by all the elder

Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 3. c. 5. s. 15. & l. 4. c. 4. s. 15.

persons of the commonwealth; together with the placing of all legal authority exclusively in the hands of the old; all these circumstances united, naturally and necessarily produced that modesty in youth, and that reverence for age, for which Lacedæmon became famous. In other cities, says Xenophon, those of nearly the same age keep company mostly together: and in presence of equals respect and circumspection least prevail: but in Sparta the laws of Lycurgus require that the young and the old constantly associate. Hence followed, what the same elegant writer and experienced observer of mankind farther remarks, that whereas in other states the great esteem it a degradation to be thought under the restraint of legal power, in Sparta, on the contrary, the greatest make it their pride to set the example of humility, of respect for the magistrates, and of zealous obedience to the laws.

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Xenoph. de Rep. Lac.

It has been a fancy of some modern authors, that the institutions of Lycurgus were but the revived usages of the heroïc ages; and of others, that they were those of the rude Dorian highlanders, improved and systematized. All antiquity contradicts both opinions, and particularly the writers of highest authority[18]. Xenophon not only refers everything expressly to the legislator, but affirms that Lycurgus established his plan of government upon principles diametrically opposite to those of all other Grecian states, without any exception for the Dorians, either in their new or their old establishments; and Thucydides, and Isocrates, and Plato, and still more Polybius, speak strongly to the same purpose. On

Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. & Mem. Socr. l. 4. c. 4. s. 13.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 18. & 77. Isocr. Panathen. p. 530. & 546.

[18] Not only Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, and Polybius, were evidently without such an ideä; but the discovery appears not to have been made so late as Plutarch's time.

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the other hand again, it is urged, that to change at once the manners and antient usages of a people, by any effort of legislation, is impossible. In a great nation we may grant it so; but in a small commonwealth not: and certainly so the antient lawgivers thought. We find it universally their great object to legislate for the manners[19]; and hence all the political theories of the Greek philosophers are calculated for limited and narrow societies. Lycurgus, having had this principle, almost alone, in common with all other Grecian legislators, thought it necessary, for the preservation of his system, to prevent any extensive communication of his people with those of other, even Grecian states. He therefore forbad forein travel, and allowed the resort of strangers to Sparta but under strict limitations. Forein commerce he nearly annihilated, as we have already seen, without an express law for the purpose.

Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 635. Polyb. l. 6.

We are not, with any certainty informed how far the treatment of slaves among the Lacedæmonians, such as we afterward find it, was prescribed by Lycurgus; but, slavery, indispensable in every Grecian republic, was eminently so in that of Lycurgus. In different states however the condition of slaves varied; and the most remarkable difference, and the most important, and yet the least noticed among antient and modern writers, was, that in some of them the slaves were purchased barbarians, in some they were mostly the descendants of subdued Greeks. All the Lacedæmonian slaves, or almost all, appear to have been of the latter kind. There are different accounts of the origin of those miserable men, who were distinguished from other slaves by name as by

Thucyd. Isocr. Panath. p. 540. t. 2. Strabo, Pausan. Plut.

[19] Οὐ γὰρ ψηφίσμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἤθεσι, καλῶς οἰκεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις. Isoc. de Pace.

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condition. The most received is, that Helos, whether an Arcadian town or a rebellious dependence of Lacedæmon is not agreed, being taken by Soüs, son of Procles, the inhabitants were, according to the practice of the times, reduced to slavery; and were dispersed in such numbers over Laconia, that the name of Helot prevailed in that country as synonymous with slave. It appears however probable that the Lacedæmonians, as perhaps all the Peloponnesian Dorians, had slaves of Grecian race before the reign of Soüs; and we know that after it they reduced numbers of Greeks to that miserable state. But the institutions of Lycurgus must necessarily have occasioned a considerable alteration in the condition of the Lacedæmonian slaves. For as husbandry and all mechanical arts were to be exercised by them alone, their consequence in the state was considerably increased: but as private property was nearly annihilated, every slave became in a great degree the slave of every freeman. In proportion then as their consequence increased, it became necessary to look upon them with a more jealous eye; and thus every Helot was watched by thousands of jealous masters. Therefore, tho it were unjust to impute, either to the command or to the intention of Lycurgus, that cruelty in the masters, or that misery of the slaves, which we find to have been afterward reälly established by law, it is however, impossible to exculpate his institutions from them. Never was human nature degraded by system to such a degree as in the miserable Helots:—Every imaginable method was taken to set them at the widest distance from their haughty masters. Even vice was commanded to them: they were compelled to drunkenness, for the purpose of exhibiting to the young Lacedæmonians the ridiculous and contemptible con-

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 6.

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dition to which men are reduced by it. They were forbidden everything manly, and they were commanded everything humiliating, of which man is capable, while beasts are not. A cruel jealousy became indispensable in watching a body of men, far superior in number to all the other subjects of the state, and treated in a manner so singularly provoking indignation and resentment. Hence that abominable institution the Crypteia. The most active and intelligent young Lacedæmonians were occasionally sent into the country, carrying provisions, and armed with a dagger. They dispersed, and generally lay concealed during the day, that they might with more advantage in the night, execute their commission for reducing the number of the Helots, by murdering any they met, but selecting in preference the stoutest men, and those in whom any superiority of spirit or genius had been observed. Notwithstanding, however, these inhuman and disgraceful precautions, Lacedæmon was oftener in danger of utter subversion from its slaves than from forein enemies.

Plut. vit. Lycurg.

Herodotus, as well as Plutarch, attributes to Lycurgus the honor of the MILITARY code of Sparta, equally as of the Civil; and the higher authority of Xenophon goes far to confirm their testimony. If the Spartan military was reälly put, by the great legislator, upon the footing which the soldier-philosopher describes, the improvement since Homer's age was indeed extraordinary.—Probably, however, improvement did not cease with Lycurgus, but was continued, as experience gave occasion, in the course of warfare little intermitted through successive centuries. But that fundamental law, which bade the Lacedæmonians place their security in their discipline and their courage, and not in fortifications, breathes the very spirit of Lycurgus. Lacedæmon

Herodot. l. 1. c. 65. Plut. vit. Lycurg. Xenoph. de Rep. Lac.

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accordingly was never fortified. The kings were commanders in chief of the forces; and their authority, as the nature of military command requires, was much greater in the army than in the state, and of course greater in war than in peace, abroad than at home[20]. They were, however, still amenable to the civil power, for any undue exercise of that necessary, but dangerous extent of supremacy.

There remain to us two accounts of the composition of the Lacedæmonian Army, from authors, both living when Sparta was in its highest glory, both military men, both of great abilities, and both possessing means of information such as few, not themselves Lacedæmonians, could obtain. In general they agree; but on some essential points they differ, in a manner not to be accounted for but by the supposition of some error in the transcription of their works. According to Xenophon, the legislator distributed the Lacedæmonian forces into six divisions of foot, and as many of horse; each of these divisions in either service having the title of Mora. The officers of each mora of infantry, he says, were one Polëmarch, four Lochages, eight Pentecosters, and sixteen Enomotarchs: the number of soldiers he leaves unmentioned. Thucydides, without noticing the mora, describes the Lacedæmonian infantry thus: 'Each Lochus consisted of four Pentecostyes, and 'each pentecostys of four Enomoties; four men 'fought in the front of each enomoty: the depth of 'the files was varied, according to circumstances, 'at the discretion of the lochage; but the ordinary 'depth was eight men.' Thus the enomoty would consist of thirty-two men, the pentecostys of a hun-

Xenoph. de Rep. Lac.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 66. & 68.

[20] Λακεδαιμονίους, τοὺς ἄριστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολιτευομένους, οἴκοι μὲν ὀλιγαρχουμένους, παρὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον βασιλευομένους. Isocr. Nicod. p. 118. t. 1.

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dred and twenty-eight, the lochus of five hundred and twelve, and a mora composed of four lochi would be two thousand and forty-eight. But if the enomoty was of thirty-two men, the pentecostys, according to Xenophon, would be but sixty-four, the lochus a hundred and twenty-eight, the mora only five hundred and twelve, and the whole Lacedæmonian infantry three thousand and seventy-two[21]. If Plutarch, however, may be trusted, the division of lands in Laconia only, before the acquisition of Messenia, provided for thirty-nine thousand families; and a writer of much higher authority, after the loss of Messenia again, speaks of Laconia as having the most numerous free population of any province of Peloponnesus, unless it might be equalled by Arcadia. But the Lacedæmonians were not generally admitted to the honor of going upon service beyond the bounds of Laconia till after the age of thirty: yet, as the proportion of cavalry was very small, and every Lacedæmonian was a soldier, we cannot reckon the infantry much fewer than forty thousand. In the Persian war we shall find ten thousand employed in one army beyond Peloponnesus, when a considerable force besides was on distant service with the fleet, and while an enemy within Peloponnesus would make a powerful defence necessary at home. Thus it appears scarcely dubious that there must be some mistake in the copies of Xenophon. I have thought it, nevertheless, proper to be so particular in a detail which cannot completely satisfy, not only because of the well-earned fame of the Spartan military, but also because of the high character of the authors of these differing accounts, and farther because the impossibility to reconcile them will at least apo-

Plut. v. Lycurg.

Polyb. l. 2. p. 125.

[21] Diodorus says the mora, in his orthography, μοῖρα, was of five hundred men. l. 15. c. 32. But his authority is little.

logize for deficiencies which may appear hereafter in relating operations of the Lacedæmonian forces. For the military reader will have observed, that the difference is not meerly in names and numbers, but materially regards the composition of the Lacedæmonian armies. This, according to Thucydides, was formed with the utmost simplicity, from the file of eight men, by an arithmetical progression of fours; and probably for some purposes the file itself was divided into four quarter files. Four files, then, made the enomoty, four enomoties the pentecostys, four pentecostyes the lochus, and, according to Xenophon, four lochi the mora, which was thus analogous to the modern brigade of four battalions. Xenophon farther informs us that the mora was the proper command of the polëmarch, and from both writers it appears that the polëmarchs were general officers, subordinate only to the kings, or commanders-in-chief. Upon the whole there seems no reason to doubt the exactness of the account remaining from Thucydides. He makes no mention of the mora; the six divisions of which name comprehended, according to Xenophon, the whole Lacedæmonian people; perhaps all between the ages of twenty and sixty. The strength of the mora therefore would vary as the population varied. Moreover it was usual, according to the importance of the occasion, to require the service of all within the military age, or of those only within a more limited age, as between thirty and forty. Upon the whole then it appears probable that the strength of the mora was indefinite[22]; and it is possible that the smaller bodies may

[22] Thucydides's account of the communication of orders through the Lacedæmonian armies agrees better with his own account of their composition than what remains as Xenophon's. Yet the investigators of Greek antiquities have very generally inclined to the latter; apparently for no reason but because they would have the command of the pentecoster, penteconter,

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have varied, and yet the principle of formation by fours, indicated by Thucydides, may have been generally maintained.

Subordination, in the Lacedæmonian discipline, as Thucydides in pointed terms remarks, was simple in principle, but multiplied in degrees, so that responsibility for due execution of orders was widely extended; the proportion of those who had no command being comparatively very small[23]. Upon the whole, indeed, there appears great analogy between the composition of the Lacedæmonian army and that of the modern European, particularly the English, whether we take the lochus of Thucydides, or the mora of Xenophon, as a battalion. The resemblance in the formation was closer till of late years, when the deep files of the old discipline have been totally rejected. Like the company, or subdivision of our battalions, the enomoty appears also to have been the Principle of Motion in the Lacedæmonian forces. Whatever change was to be made in the extent of the line, in the depth of the files, or in the position of the front, the evolution seems to have been performed within each enomoty

or pentecontater (for thus variously the title is written) exactly correspond to the original meaning of his name; and on this shadow of a foundation they assert that the enomoty, including its commander, was of only twenty-five men, tho it is so clearly indicated by Thucydides that its average complement was thirty-two. Xenophon, in a passage not altogether so clear, having possibly been injured in transcription, seems however decidedly enough to speak of the enomoty, on one great occasion, as of thirty-six men. Nothing, we well know, is more common than for names to remain when things are altered: if hereafter the meaning of the modern words Colonel and Constable should be sought in their derivation, what strange error would result! The Pentacontarchia of Arrian's time was a command not of fifty, as the name seems to import, but of sixty-four men, and the Hecatontarchia of a hundred and twenty-eight. Arrian. Tact. p. 39. ed. Amstel. & Lipz. 1750.

Xen. Hel. l. 6. c. 4. s. 12.

[23] Σχεδὸν γάρτοι πᾶν, πλὴν ὀλίγου, το στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄρχοντες ἀρχόντων εἰσὶ, καὶ τὸ ἐπιμελὲς τοῦ ὁρωμένου πολλοῖς προσήκει. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 66.

by itself; the just reference of these primary constituent bodies to one another, and to the whole, being a second business. Farther than this, for want of accurate knowlege of the technical phrases, it is hazardous to attempt explanation of those evolutions of the Lacedæmonian troops which Xenophon has even minutely described, and concerning which his applause highly excites curiosity. Some other circumstances, however, he has related in terms sufficiently clear. Lycurgus, he says, on account of the weakness of angles, directed the circular form for encampment; unless where a mountain, a river, or some other accident of the ground afforded security. A camp-guard was mounted daily, precisely, it should seem, analogous to the modern quarter-guard and rear-guard, to keep order within the camp. A different guard for the same purpose was mounted by night. For security against the enemy, out-sentries and vedettes were posted. An advanced guard of horse always preceded the march of the army. Xenophon has thought it worth while particularly to mention that the Lacedæmonians wore a scarlet uniform, and the origin of this he refers to Lycurgus. The Lacedæmonian troops were always singularly well provided with all kinds of useful baggage and camp-necessaries, and a large proportion of Helot servants, laborers and artificers, attended, with waggons and beasts of burthen. It appears, indeed, to have been a principle of the Lacedæmonian service, that the soldier should be as much as possible at ease when off duty, and should have no business but that of arms.

Other states which have florished by the wisdom of their laws, and the goodness of their constitution, have risen by slow degrees to that excellence which has led them to power and celebrity; and fortunate

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circumstances have often done more for them than their wisest legislators; who have indeed seldom dared to attempt all that themselves thought best. But for Lycurgus nothing was too difficult, nothing too dangerous: he changed everything at once: new-modelled government, manners, morals; in a manner new-made the people: and yet with all these violent alterations, these experiments in politics hazardous to such extreme, no one consequence seems to have escaped his penetrating genius; no one of his daring ideäs failed in practice; he foresaw, and he provided for everything. There was a disease inherent in the vitals of his system, which yet must not be imputed to him as a fault, since human nature seems in few situations to admit either remedy or preventive that may not prove worse than the disease: palliatives alone can safely be attempted. For the military turn which Lycurgus so much incouraged in his fellowcountrymen, and the perfection of discipline which he established among them, were necessary, not only to that respectable independency which he wished them to injoy, but even to the security of their existence as a people. He was, however, not unaware that thirst of conquest, and ambition to command, must unavoidably spring up and florish in a soil so prepared. Two prohibitions, which had other more obvious purposes, appear at the same time to have been intended indirectly to obviate the mischiefs that might be apprehended from these passions: he forbad the Lacedæmonians to ingage in frequent wars with the same people; and he forbad them, from the moment when victory was decisively theirs, to pursue a flying enemy. Each of these prohibitions tended strongly to prevent the complete conquest of any forein territory: at the same time that the first had,

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for its more obvious purpose, the prevention of foreiners from acquiring the Spartan discipline; and the other, beside securing against the misfortunes incident to rash pursuit, as it lessened to opposing armies the danger of flight, was likely to make victory often cheaper to the Lacedæmonians than it would be, in parallel circumstances, to any other people. Beside these, some institutions, perhaps already venerable for their antiquity, being favorable to his views, would receive the sanction of his approbation. It was a sacred law at Sparta, that the full moon must be waited for before the army could quit Laconia; and, on whatever forein service, it must return for the observance of two religious festivals, both within the ordinary season of military operations, the Hyacinthia at the beginning, and the Carneia toward the end of summer. These then, with the exclusion of wealth, were the curbs to which Lycurgus trusted for restraining that ambition which he could not but foresee must arise among his fellowcountrymen. Those other defects of the Spartan constitution, of which we are informed by the comments of two great philosophers and politicians who saw it in decay, whether originally in Lycurgus's establishment, or whether of aftergrowth, will rather be objects for future consideration.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 106. Thucyd. and Xen. Hel.

Plat. de Rep. l. 8. p. 547. Aristot. Polit.

Lycurgus, then, having with invincible courage and unwearied perseverance, and with penetration and judgement still more singular, executed the most extraordinary plan ever even devised by man[24];

[24] It is a remark of John James Rousseau, that the many plans of government proposed by speculative men, however excellent in theory, are generally slighted as meer visions, impossible to be reduced to practice: but, says the philosopher very justly, had Lycurgus been a legislator in speculation only, his scheme would have appeared much more visionary than Plato's.

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waiting awhile to see his machine in motion, and having the satisfaction to find every part adapted, and the whole move as he wished, his next and last concern was to secure its duration. Summoning an assembly of the people, he observed, upon what had been done, 'That it proved upon experience good, 'and would, he hoped, go far toward assuring vir-'tue, and of course happiness to his fellowcountry-'men. He had yet one thing to propose, which 'however he would not venture upon till he had 'consulted the god; for which purpose he would 'go himself to Delphi: but he must have assu-'rance that nothing should be altered before his 'return.' Immediately, kings, senate and people, unanimously desired him to go, and readily ingaged, by a solemn oath, that till he returned nothing should be altered. His reception at Delphi was as favorable as before. The oracle declared, 'That the 'constitution of Sparta, as it now stood, was excel-'lent, and as long as it remained intire, would insure 'happiness and glory to the state.' Lycurgus sent this response to Sparta, determined himself never to return. He had now completed what he esteemed sufficient for his life: his death was wanting to bind his fellowcountrymen indissolubly to the observance of his institutions; and a statesman ought, if possible, he thought, to make even his death beneficial to his country. Conformably to this doctrine, which was not only not alien from the spirit of the age, but consonant to the stoïc philosophy of aftertimes, he is said to have died by voluntary abstinence from nourishment. Different accounts are, however, given, both of the place and manner of his death. One tradition says that he lived to a good old age in Crete; and dying naturally, his body was burnt according to the practice of the age, and the relics, pursuant

Justin. l. 3. c. 2.

to his own request, scattered in the sea: lest, if his bones or ashes had ever been carried to Sparta, the Lacedæmonians might have thought themselves freed from their obligation by oath to observe his laws. SECT. III.

SECTION IV.

History of Messenia from the Return of the Heracleids, and of Lacedæmon from the Legislation of Lycurgus, to the Completion of the Conquest of Messenia by the Lacedæmonians.

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It was not long after the full establishment of Lycurgus's institutions, before the increase of vigor to the Lacedæmonian state, for external exertion, became as apparent as the internal change from boundless disorder to unexampled regularity. The Spartans exulted in their new-felt strength: the desire to exercise it grew irresistible; and they became early marked by their neighbors as a formidable people. Wars arose with all the bordering states; but those with Messenia, for the importance of their consequences, will principally demand attention. Herodot. l. 1. c. 66.

Messenia, as we have already observed, was the least mountainous, and the most generally fruitful province of Peloponnesus; but it seems never to have been blest with a government capable of securing to its inhabitants the advantages which the soil and climate offered. Cresphontes the Heracleid, we are told, endevoring to support himself by the favor of the lower people against the arrogance of the leading men, an insurrection insued, in which he was cut off with the greater part of his family. According to some accounts only one son, Æpytus, escaping the massacre. This prince, however, as- Pausan. l. 4. c. 3. Isocrat. Archid.

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cended the throne; and so far acquired fame, that from his name the Messenian royal race were distinguished as the Æpytidian branch of the Heracleid family. But the Messenian history affords little interesting before the wars with Lacedæmon, which, with their consequences, form indeed almost the whole of it. Concerning those wars hardly anything remains from the older Grecian writers. Herodotus, without giving us to know why, avoids all account of them, tho he mentions the most important result, the conquest of Messenia. In a very late age Pausanias endevored to supply the deficiency; and he appears to have taken great pains, by collating poems, and traditions preserved by prose-writers, with antient genealogies, and temple records, to ascertain the principal circumstances of Messenian history. In many points he is confirmed by scattered passages of authors of high authority; and the consequences were so remarkable and so important, and remain so unquestionably ascertained, that Pausanias's account of the wars themselves will reasonably require some scope in a general history of Greece.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 66. & seq.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 6. & al.

The assigned causes of the fatal quarrel are objects of notice, as they tend to mark the manners of the age. However the Greeks were politically divided, they always maintained a community in the concerns of religion. Some religious rites indeed were held peculiar to particular cities, and some even to particular families; but some were common to all of the same hord, Dorian, Ionian, Æolian, and some to the whole nation. There was at Limnæ, on the frontier of Messenia against Laconia, a temple dedicated to Diana: where Messenians and Lacedæmonians, both being of Dorian origin, equally resorted to sacrifice, and to partake of those periodical festi-

Pausan. l. 4. c. 4.

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vities which were usual at the more celebrated Grecian temples. In a tumult at one of those festivals, Teleclus king of Sparta, son of Archelaüs the cotemporary of Lycurgus, was killed. The Lacedæmonians were loud in complaint, that the Messenians had attempted to carry off some Spartan virgins, and that Teleclus received his death in defending them. The Messenians averred, that the treachery was on the part of the Lacedæmonians; that the pretended virgins were armed youths, disguised with a purpose to assassinate the Messenian chiefs who attended the solemnity; and that Teleclus and his followers met a just fate in attempting to execute their execrable intention. On whichsoever side the truth lay, the Lacedæmonians checked their resentment, till, in the reigns of Alcamenes son of Teleclus, and Theopompus grandson of Charilaüs (for we have no dates of any authority for these events but what the geneälogies of the Spartan kings furnish[25]) other causes of quarrel arose. Polychares, a Messenian of rank, put out by agreement some cattle, in which still consisted the principal riches of the times, under the care of herdmen his own slaves, to pasture on the lands of Euæphnus, a Lacedæmonian, who sold both

Pausan. ut. sup. Strabo, l. 8. p. 362.

[25] Pausanias indeed says that Polychares, who immediately brought on the Messenian war, was victor in the fourth Olympiad. Pausan. l. 4. c. 4. We may believe that the name of the victor in the fourth Olympiad was Polychares, and yet perhaps reasonably doubt if he was the person who caused the Messenian war, which, according to Newton's Chronology, must have begun near a century later, about the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth Olympiad. Numbers are very liable to suffer in transcription, and evident errors in the statement of numbers occur in our copies of Pausanias. The great earthquake of Sparta is there said to have happened in the age of Cimon and in the twenty-ninth Olympiad. We know from Thucydides that it did happen in the age of Cimon, and we may therefore believe that Diodorus and the chronologers, tho they disagree, do not err by many years when they assign it to either the fourth year of the 77th, or the fourth year of the 78th Olympiad.

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cattle and herdmen, and pretended to Polychares that they had been carried off by pirates. The fraud was however discovered by one of the slaves, who, escaping from his purchaser, returned to his former master. Euæphnus, thus detected, promised an equivalent; but the son of Polychares, being sent to receive it, was assassinated. The father, full of grief and indignation, went himself to Sparta, and laid his complaint before kings and people. Finding however no disposition to grant him any redress, he returned inraged into his own country, and retaliated by frequent assassination of the Lacedæmonian borderers. These outrages brought a deputation from Sparta to the Messenian state, to demand reparation. Two kings then reigned in Messenia. Of these, Androcles was inclined to give up Polychares rather than risk a war with Lacedæmon. But Antiochus opposed a measure which he affirmed to be equally mean and unjust; and such was the imperfect and unsettled state of the Messenian government, that recourse was had to arms for deciding the dispute. Androcles and his principal partizans were killed, and Antiochus thus became sole king of Messenia.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 5.

The Lacedæmonians highly exasperated, and now without any view of peaceful redress, are said to have taken a measure not incredible of their age and circumstances, however impossible to have happened in such large kingdoms as have led the affairs of modern Europe. Without any of those formal declarations by heralds, which the law of nations, even then among the Greeks, required, as the forerunners of honorable war, they prepared secretly for hostilities; and so extreme was the animosity against the Messenians, which then pervaded their little state, an oath was universally taken, That no length of

Polyb. l. 6. p. 492. Strabo, l. 6. p. 279. Pausan. l. 4. c. 5. Justin. l. 3. c. 4.

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time should weary them, no magnitude of misfortune should deter them, but they would prosecute the war, and, it is added by some writers, would on no account return to their families, till they had subdued Messenia. This violent resolution thus solemnly taken, Ampheia, a small town advantageously situated for covering the frontier, became their first object. A body of troops, led by their king Alcamenes, entered it by night: the gates being open and no guard kept, as no hostilities were apprehended. The place was taken with scarcely any resistance; and all the inhabitants, except a few who escaped by flight, were put to the sword.

Pausan. ut sup. Ol. 32. 1. B. C. 652. N. Ol. 9. 2. B. C. 743. B.

Antiochus dying, after having injoyed but for a few months the monarchy of Messenia, was succeeded by his son Euphaës. This prince prepared wisely to resist the storm which was bursting on his country. While he avoided battles with the Lacedæmonians, whose art of war and practised discipline gave them a decided superiority in the field, he provided so effectually for the defence of the Messenian towns, that every attempt of the enemy proved unsuccessful against them. Thus secure at home, he took opportunities occasionally to imbark some chosen troops, and revenged the pillage committed in Messenia by similar depredations on the coast of Laconia. It was not till the fourth year of the war that he thought his people practised enough in arms to meet the Lacedæmonians in the field; and even then, resolved to put nothing to hazard, his aim was less to push for decisive victory, than to let it appear that, while watching opportunities, he could face the enemy without disadvantage. In the following year, however, the two armies came to a general ingagement; and with a fury of which polished times, being without equal incentives, can furnish

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no example. 'Recollect,' said Euphaës, speaking to his troops on the point of ingaging, 'it is not for 'your lands only, your goods, your wealth, that you 'are going to fight. But you well know what will 'be your fate if vanquished: your wives and children will be slaves; and, for yourselves, death will 'be your fairest lot, if it comes without ignominy or 'torture: Ampheia may tell you this.' Night, however, stopped the battle; and next morning each army found itself so weakened by the numbers slain, that both shunned a renewal of the ingagement.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 9.

But tho the trial of arms was thus equally maintained by the Messenians, yet their affairs were, in other points, declining greatly. The open country had been so long the spoil of the enemy, that the means of supporting themselves within their garrisons began to fail; their slaves deserted; and disease, the common consequence, especially in hot climates, of crowding together, in towns, persons accustomed to breathe the free air and eat the fresh food of the fields, made havoc among them. New measures became necessary. They drew their people, from all their inland posts, to Ithomë, a strong situation near the coast; which they preferred, because, the Lacedæmonians having no naval force, it would always be open to supplies by sea. Inlarging this place sufficiently to receive its new inhabitants, they added at the same time, to its extraordinary natural strength, everything of which their skill in fortification was capable. While these works were going forward, their doubts and fears directed them farther, to ask advice of the Delphian oracle, the common resource of desponding states, how the blessing of the gods might be obtained to their endevors. The answer might perhaps justify a suspicion that the Delphian priests were corrupted by

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the Lacedæmonians; for it was perfectly adapted to produce discord and confusion in Messenia. The Pythoness declared, That a virgin of the blood of Æpytus must be sacrificed to the infernal deïties. The consequences were no other than might be expected from an absurd and cruel superstition. The lot fell upon the daughter of Lyciscus. But a priest, gained by the father, declared that the daughter was supposititious, and therefore not known to be of the blood required by the gods. Lyciscus, however, still fearing for his child, took the opportunity afforded by the doubts and confusion which the priest's declaration had occasioned, to carry her off, and he deserted with her to Sparta. Double confusion, doubt, and despondency now took possession of the Messenian council: when Aristodemus, a man in whom superstition or ambition, or perhaps both together, had stifled paternal tenderness, offered his own daughter for the victim. But here other obstacles occurred. The virgin was betrothed to a young Messenian of highest rank and estimation; who, shocked with the suddenness of the father's dreadful purpose, insisted vehemently that his daughter was not at his disposal, but belonged to him to whom she was betrothed. This, however, not availing, the young man, agonizing with the thought of thus tragically losing his beloved bride, averred that the daughter of Aristodemus could not satisfy the requisition of the gods, for she was no virgin, being already with child by him. Insult, thus added to opposition, inraged Aristodemus to madness; the savage slew his daughter with his own hand; and, to vindicate the honor of his family by demonstration of the falsehood of her lover's assertion, caused the body to be dissected. The priests now demanded another virgin, the de-

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ceased not having been regularly sacrificed. But the wiser Euphaës, finding himself strongly supported by the Æpytidian families, who were numerous and powerful, persuaded the people that the command of the oracle was sufficiently performed, and no more blood required by the gods.

The horrid deed of Aristodemus is said so far to have served his country, that the fame of the oracle, and of the obedience paid to it, threw some diffidence into the minds of the Lacedæmonians; insomuch that, for five years, the war was almost intermitted. But in the sixth another great effort was made. Theopompus led an army toward Ithomë; and Euphaës now, trusting in the practised valor of his people, or perhaps still more dreading the consequences of confining them in garrison, marched to meet him. A battle was again fought, in which, as in the former, great slaughter was made on both sides, without any decisive advantage to either; only that the brave and worthy Euphaës, anxious by his example to lead his people to victory, received a mortal wound. The ambition of Aristodemus now was gratified: Euphaës leaving no issue, he was raised to the throne by the voice of the people, in preference to all others of Æpytidian race.

The known bravery and activity of this prince were such that the Lacedæmonians derived little incouragement from the death of Euphaës; and their loss in the late battle was so great that, again for four years, the operations of the war were confined to meer predatory incursions. This time was judiciously employed by the new Messenian king in strengthening his alliance with the Argians, Arcadians, and Sicyonians; insomuch that, when, in the fifth year of his reign, the Lacedæmonians marched all their forces against Ithomë, he received

powerful assistance from those states. A pitched battle was fought, in which the abilities of Aristodemus, as commander-in-chief, were not less conspicuous than his bravery had been when an inferior officer. The Lacedæmonian armies excelled in heavy-armed foot. The Messenians were superior in light troops, who used chiefly missile weapons. By a judicious disposition of these, supported by the determined bravery of his heavy phalanx, Aristodemus, after repeated and well varied efforts, succeeded in breaking the Spartan order of battle. Great numbers fell, both on the field and in the retreat. But, tho victory was fairly on the side of the Messenians, yet the excellence of the Spartan discipline prevented a total rout. The Lacedæmonian chiefs, however, found it necessary to lead the shattered remains of their army immediately into Laconia. SECT. IV.

Now the Lacedæmonians in their turn sent to Delphi to ask advice of the god. The Messenians, still more interested in the event, again did the same. Unintelligible responses were absurdly and childishly interpreted; and for some time there was an emulation between the two people in superstition rather than in arms. Remorse for his daughter's death meantime took possession of Aristodemus. We are not informed of any considerable subsequent misfortune, public or private, that had befallen him, when he is said to have killed himself on her tomb. The accounts, indeed, of the conclusion of this war are extremely defective: they leave us almost wholly uninformed of the steps immediately leading to the catastrophe. The death of Aristodemus was probably among them; for we hear of no Messenian leader of eminent abilities after him. Spartan discipline and Spartan perseverance therefore at length

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prevailed. Ithomë was besieged and taken. The inhabitants and garrison, pressed with extremity of famine, found opportunity to pass the Lacedæmonian lines, and fled, as every one formed hopes of safety and subsistence. Many had claims of hospitality at Argos, at Sicyon, and in the Arcadian towns: and to those places accordingly directed their steps upon this melancholy occasion. Those who had been admitted to the mysteries of Ceres, or could trace their pedigree to the sacred families of that goddess, found refuge at Eleusis. The miserable multitude, to whom no place of secure retreat occurred, scattered, some to find their former dwellings, others variously about the country. The Lacedæmonians, having destroyed Ithomë to the foundation, proceeded to take possession of the other towns without opposition. They gave to the Asinæans, who had lately been expelled from their town and lands by the Argians, a tract on the Messenian coast, which to the days of Pausanias was still inhabited by their posterity. The other lands they left to the remaining Messenians; exacting from them, together with an oath of allegiance, half the produce as tribute. Thus was this important territory added to the dominion of Sparta.

Ol. 37. 1. B. C. 632. N.

Ol. 14. 1. B. C. 724. B.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 14.

Strabo, l. 8. p. 373.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 14.

Among the events of this war, one is related, which bears a strange appearance to modern readers, and yet found credit with eminent antient writers. Their accounts indeed differ: yet all are so far consonant to one another, to the manners and circumstances of the times, and to other authenticated events, that we cannot suppose them unfounded. The absence, we are told, of the Lacedæmonians from their homes, in consequence of the rash oath taken at the beginning of the war, was long supported by their wives with Spartan fortitude. But year

Strab. l. 6. p. 378. 379. Justin. l. 3. c. 6.

elapsing after year, and Messenia still unsubdued, the matrons at length sent to the army, representing the unequal terms on which the war was waged. The enemy, they observed, living with their families, new citizens were continually produced, to supply the decay of nature and the ravage of war: but the Spartan women had passed years in widowhood; and should the war continue, however victorious their arms, the state would be as effectually annihilated as it could be by a conquering enemy; for there would be no rising generation. The complaint was acknowleged to require serious consideration; but remedy appeared difficult without incurring the guilt of perjury, and thus drawing down the vengeance of the gods for that supposed of all crimes the most offensive to them. The difficulty was, however, not to Lacedæmonians what it would have been to any other people. It was determined that those who had arrived at the age for bearing arms since the commencement of the war, none of whom fortunately had taken the oath, should be sent home to cohabit promiscuously with the marriageable virgins; or, according to some authors, with all the women. The institutions of Lycurgus were effectual to conquer some of the strongest passions of human nature, yet they were not equal to the annihilation of all prejudice. When the war at length was happily terminated, and things at Lacedæmon resumed their wonted course, the innocent offspring of these irregular embraces were slighted by the other citizens. Being, however, not the less high-spirited for being less regularly born, some disturbance was apprehended from their uneasiness at the distinctions made to their disadvantage. It was therefore thought prudent to offer them means of establishing themselves without the bounds of Peloponn-

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nesus. They readily consented to emigrate; and under the conduct of Phalanthus, one of their own body, they founded the city of Tarentum in Italy.

During near forty years Messenia remained in quiet subjection. Those of its unfortunate people who submitted to the Lacedæmonian terms, chose the least among evils presenting themselves, and rested under their hard lot. But the succeeding generation, unexperienced in the calamities of war, unexperienced in the comparative strength of themselves and their conquerors, yet instigated by a share of that irresistible spirit of independency which at this time so remarkably pervaded Greece, and buoyed up by that hope of fortunate contingencies, so natural in adversity to generous minds, could not brook the comparison of their own circumstances with those of all other Greeks. Their subjection was indeed too severe and too humiliating to be by any possibility borne with satisfaction, yet not sufficiently depressing to insure the continuance of quiet submission. A leader therefore only was wanting of reputation to attract and concentrate the materials of the rising storm, and it would burst with energy. Such a leader appeared in Aristomenes, a youth whose high natural spirit was still elevated by the opinion of his descent from Hercules, through a long race of Messenian kings. When therefore others were proposing a revolt, Aristomenes was foremost to act in it. Persons were sent privately to the former allies of the state, the Argians and Arcadians, to solicit assistance. Very favorable promises being received, Aristomenes and his party immediately attacked a body of Lacedæmonians at Deræ. A very obstinate action insued, which terminated without victory to either party: yet the Messenians were so satisfied with the behaviour of Aristomenes, that

Ol. 43. 2. B. C. 607. N.

Ol. 23. 4. B. C. 685. B.

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they would have raised him to the throne. He prudently refused that invidious honor, but accepted the office of commander-in-chief of the forces.

The first adventure related of this hero, after his elevation, sounds romantic; but the age was romantic, and his situation required no common conduct. His principal friend and constant companion was Theocles, a man of birth among the Messenians, and esteemed the ablest prophet of his time; a character, in that rude age, apparently indicating that he was a man of more than common understanding, addicted rather to study and contemplation than to active life. Such a man, and the friend of such a man, would be aware of the advantages to be derived from the prevailing popular superstitions. There was at Lacedæmon a temple called the Brazen House, dedicated to Minerva, and held in singular veneration. Aristomenes entered that city alone by night; which was not difficult, as there were neither walls nor watch, and the less dangerous as no Grecian towns were lighted, and the Lacedæmonian institutions forbad to carry lights. Secure therefore in obscurity, he suspended against the brazen house a shield, with an inscription declaring, that Aristomenes, from the spoils of Sparta, dedicated that shield to the goddess. Nothing the early Greeks dreaded more than that their enemies should win from them the favor of a deity, under whose peculiar protection they imagined their state to have been placed by the piety of their forefathers. The Lacedæmonians were so alarmed, that they sent to inquire of the Delphian oracle what was to be done. The answer of the Pythoness was well considered for the safety of the oracle's reputation, but embarrassing to the Lacedæmonians: it directed them to take an Athenian for their counsellor. An embassy

Plut. Lac. Inst. init.

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was accordingly sent to Athens. But here too some embarrassment arose: for the Athenians, far from desirous that the finest province of Peloponnesus should become for ever annexed to the dominion of Sparta, were nevertheless fearful of offending the god who gave the oracle. They took therefore a middle way; and in complying hoped to make their compliance useless. They sent a man named Tyrtæus, who, among the lowest of the people, had exercised the profession of a schoolmaster; supposed of no abilities for any purpose of the Lacedæmonians, and lame of one leg. There is something in these circumstances so little consonant to modern history, that they are apt at first view to bear an appearance both of fable and of insignificancy. But they come so far authenticated, that it is impossible not to give them some credit. It was partly from the admired works of Tyrtæus himself, fragments of which remain, that historians afterwards collected their account of the Messenian affairs; and it is still common, we know, for circumstances, in themselves the most trifling, to have consequences the most important.

Lycurg. con. Leocrat. p. 211. t. 4. or. Gr. ed. Reiske. Strabo, l. 8. p. 362. Pausan. l. 4. Justin. l. 3. c. 5.

The Messenian army was now reïnforced by Argian, Arcadian, Sicyonian, and Eleian auxiliaries; and Messenian refugees from various forein parts came in, with eager zeal, to attach themselves once more to the fortune of their former country. These combined forces met the Lacedæmonian army, which had received succour from Corinth only, at Caprusema. The exertions of Aristomenes, in the battle which insued, are said to have exceeded all belief of what one man could do. A complete victory was gained by the Messenians; with so terrible a slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, that it was in consequence debated at Sparta whether a negotia-

tion for peace should not immediately be opened. On this occasion great effects are attributed to the poetry of Tyrtæus, and probably not without foundation. We know that even in these cultivated times, and in the extensive states of modern Europe, a popular song can sometimes produce considerable consequences. Then it was a species of oratory suited beyond all other to the genius of the age. Tyrtæus reanimated the drooping minds of the Spartan people. It was thought expedient to recruit the number of citizens, by infranchising and associating some Helots. The measure was far from popular, but the poetry of Tyrtæus persuaded the people to acquiesce; and it was determined still to prosecute the war with all possible vigor.

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Aristomenes meanwhile was endevoring to push the advantage he had gained. He did not venture a regular invasion of Laconia, but he carried the war thither by incursion. He surprized the town of Pharæ, bore away a considerable booty, and routed Anaxander king of Sparta, who had planted an ambush to intercept his return. In another irruption he took the town of Caryæ; and, among other plunder, led off a number of Spartan virgins, assembled to celebrate, according to custom, the festival of Diana. Pausanias relates to his honor, on this occasion, a strong instance of the strictness both of his discipline and of his morality. On his appointment to the command-in-chief, he had selected a band of young Messenians, mostly of rank, who attended him and fought by his side in all his enterprizes. The Spartan virgins, taken at Caryæ, being intrusted to a guard from this body, the young men, heated with wine, attempted to force their chastity. Aristomenes immediately interfered; but finding it in vain that he represented to them how they disho-

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nored the name of Grecians by attempts so abhorrent from what the laws and customs of their country approved, he laid the most refractory with his own hand dead upon the spot, and then restored the girls to their parents. We have remarked on a former occasion how common rapes were in Greece. Law and order, we may suppose, had made some progress since that period; yet scarcely such as generally to insure the chastity of women captives in war. But where the crime of ravishing is most common, the virtue which prompts to such dangerous exertion, as that related of Aristomenes, for the prevention of it, will be most valued, will consequently become most an object of renown, and thence will more be caught at by aspiring minds.

Among the extraordinary adventures of that hero we find it related that, in an attempt upon the town of Ægila, he was made prisoner by some Spartan matrons assembled there for the celebration of a festival; who, trained as they were under the institutions of Lycurgus, repelled the attack with a vigor which the men of other states could scarcely exceed. Here the softer passions, it is said, befriended him: Archidameia, priestess of Ceres, becoming inamored of him, procured his escape.

It was now the third year of the war, when the Lacedæmonian and Messenian forces met at Megaletaphrus; the latter strengthened by their Arcadian allies only, whose leader, Aristocrates prince of Orchomenus, was secretly in the Lacedæmonian interest. On the first onset this traitor gave the signal for his own troops to retreat; and he artfully conducted them so as to disturb the order of the Messenian forces. The Lacedæmonians, prepared for this event, seized the opportunity to gain the flank of their enemy. Aristomenes made some vain efforts

Pausan. l. 4. Strabo, l. 8. p. 362. Polyb. l. 4.

to prevent a rout: but his army was presently, for the most part, surrounded and cut to pieces; and he was himself fortunate in being able to retreat with a miserable remnant.

The Messenians had not the resources of an established government. A single defeat induced instant necessity for resorting to the measure practised by Euphaës in the former war. Abandoning all their inland posts, they collected their force at Eira, a strong situation near the sea, and prepared by all means in their power for vigorous defence. The Lacedæmonians, as was foreseen, presently sat down before the place; but the Messenians were still strong enough to keep a communication open with their ports of Pylus and Methone[26].

The enterprizing spirit of Aristomenes was not to be broken by misfortune. Even in the present calamitous situation of his country's affairs, he would not confine himself to defensive war. With his chosen band he sallied from Eira, pillaged all the neighboring country on the side occupied by the Lacedæmonians, and even ventured into Laconia, where he plundered the town of Amyclæ. His expeditions were so well concerted, and his band so small and so light, that he was generally within the walls of Eira again before it was known in the Spartan camp that any place was attacked. The business of a siege commonly in those times was very slow. The usual hope of the besiegers was to reduce the place by famine. But this was a vain

[26] Pausanias writes this name Mothone, and among the Greeks it so remains to this day; but the Italians, unable to pronounce the Greek θ, speak and write it Modona: the French for the same reason call it Modon. The Italian name of Pylus is Navarino. This was, according to Strabo, not the residence of Nestor, that city being situated more northward, not far from the river Alpheius.

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hope to the Lacedæmonians while Aristomenes could thus supply the garrison. The government of Sparta, therefore, finding their army ineffectual to prevent this relief, proceeded to the extremity of forbidding, by a public edict, all culture of the conquered part of Messenia. Probably the Lacedæmonian affairs were at this time ill administered, both in the army and at home. Great discontents, we are told, broke out at Sparta; and the government was again beholden to the lame Athenian poet for composing the minds of the people.

But the temper of Aristomenes was too daring, and his enterprizes too hazardous, to be long exempt from misfortune. His scene of action was not extensive, so that in time the Lacedæmonians learnt, by their very losses, the means of putting a stop to them. He fell in unexpectedly with a large body of Lacedæmonian troops, headed by both the kings. His retreat was intercepted; and in making an obstinate defence, being stunned by a blow on the head, he was taken prisoner with about fifty of his band. The Lacedæmonians, considering all as rebels, condemned them without distinction to be precipitated into a cavern called Ceada, the common capital punishment at Sparta for the worst malefactors. All are said to have been killed by the fall except Aristomenes; whose survival was thought so wonderful, that miracles were invented to account for it. An eagle, it was reported, fluttering under him, so far supported him that he arrived at the bottom unhurt. How far such miraculous assistance was necessary to his preservation, we cannot certainly know; but the plain circumstances of the story, tho extraordinary, have, as far as appears, nothing contrary to nature. Aristomenes at first thought it no advantage to find himself alive in that

Pausan. l. 4. Strabo, l. 8. p. 367.

horrid charnel, surrounded by his companions dead and dying, among the skeletons and putrid carcasses of former criminals. He retreated to the farthest corner he could find, and, covering his head with his cloak, lay down to wait for death, which seemed unavoidable. It was, according to Pausanias the third day of this dreadful imprisonment, when he was startled by a little rustling noise. Rising and uncovering his eyes, he saw by the glimmering of light, which assisted him the more from his having been so long in perfect darkness, a fox gnawing the dead bodies. It presently struck him that this animal must have found some other way into the cavern than that by which himself had descended, and would readily find the same way out again. Watching, therefore, his opportunity, he was fortunate enough to seize the fox with one hand, while with his cloak in the other he prevented it from biting him; and he managed to let it have its way, without escaping, so as to conduct him to a narrow bury. Through this he followed, till it became too small for his body to pass; and here fortunately a glimpse of day-light caught his eye. Setting, therefore, his conductor at liberty, he worked with his hands till he made a passage large enough for himself to creep into day, and he escaped to Eira.

The first rumor of the reäppearance of Aristomenes found no credit at Sparta. Preparations were making for pushing the siege of Eira with vigor, and a body of Corinthian auxiliaries was marching to share in the honor of completing the conquest of Messenia. Aristomenes, receiving intelligence that the Corinthians marched and incamped negligently, as if they had no enemy to fear, issued with a chosen body from Eira, attacked them by surprize in the night, routed them with great slaugh-

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ter, and carried off the plunder of their camp. Then, says Pausanias, the Lacedæmonians readily believed that Aristomenes was living. Tradition says that this extraordinary warrior thrice sacrificed the Hecatomphoneia, the offering prescribed among the Greeks for those who had slain in battle a hundred enemies with their own hands. It was after this action that he performed that ceremony the second time.

The Lacedæmonians now, for the sake of celebrating in security their festival called Hyacynthia, which was approaching, consented to a truce for forty days. Pausanias, who is not favorable to their fame, reports that they incouraged some Cretan mercenaries in their service to watch opportunities for striking a blow against the Messenians, even during the truce; that Aristomenes was actually seized in consequence; and recovered his liberty only through the favor of a young woman in the house where he was lodged, who cut his bonds, and procured him the means of slaying his keepers.

Ol. 48. 2. B. C. 587. N. Ol. 27. 2. B. C. 671. B.

Through the unskilfulness of the age in the attack of places, and the varied efforts of Aristomones's genius to baffle the besiegers, the siege, or rather blockade, of Eira was protracted to the eleventh year. A concurrence of circumstances seemingly trifling, but which in the detail of them by Pausanias, form an important lesson for military men, at length decided its fate. In a violently tempestuous night intelligence was brought to the Lacedæmonian commander, by a private soldier, whom an intrigue with a Messenian woman had led to the discovery, that the Messenian guard at one of their posts, yielding to the weather, and trusting that the storm itself would prevent their enemies from acting, had dispersed to seek shelter. Immediately the troops were

silently called to arms; ladders were carried to the spot, and the Lacedæmonians mounted unresisted. The unusually earnest and incessant barking of dogs first alarmed the garrison. Aristomenes, always watchful, hastily formed the first of his people that he could collect: and presently meeting the enemy, managed his defence so judiciously as well as vigorously, that the Lacedæmonians, ignorant of the town, could not, during the night, attempt any farther progress. But neither could Aristomenes attempt any more than to keep the enemy at bay, while the rest of his people, arming and assembling, used their intimate knowlege of the place to occupy the most advantageous points for defending themselves and dislodging the enemy. At day-break, having disposed his whole force, and directed even the women to assist by throwing stones and tiles from the house-tops, he made a furious charge upon the Lacedæmonians; whose superiority in number availed little, as they had not room to extend their front. But the violence of the storm, which continued unabated, was such as to prevent the women from acting on the roofs; many of whom were, however, animated with such manly resolution for the defence of their country, that they took arms and joined in the fight below. There the battle continued all day, with scarcely other effect than mutual slaughter. At night there was again a pause; but it was such as allowed little rest or refreshment to the Messenians. Now the Lacedæmonian general profited from his numbers. He sent half his forces to their camp while the other half kept the Messenians in constant alarm, and, with the return of day, he brought back his refreshed troops to renew the attack. The Messenian chiefs became soon convinced that all attempts to expel the enemy must be vain. After a short con-

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sultation, therefore, they formed their people in the most convenient order for defending their wives and children, and most portable effects, while they should force their way out of the place. The Lacedæmonians, whose political institutions in some degree commanded the permission of escape for a flying enemy, gave them free passage. The Messenians directed their melancholy march to Arcadia. There they were most hospitably received by their faithful allies of that country, who divided them in quarters among their towns.

Even in this extremity of misfortune, the enterprizing genius of Aristomenes was immediately imagining new schemes for restoring his country, and taking vengeance on her enemies. He selected five hundred Messenians, to whom three hundred Arcadian volunteers joined themselves, with a resolution to attempt the surprize of Sparta itself, while the Lacedæmonian army was yet in the farthest part of Messenia, where Pylus and Methonë still remained to be reduced. Everything was prepared for the enterprize, when some of the Arcadian chiefs received intelligence that a messenger was gone from their king Aristocrates to Sparta. This man they caused to be waylaid on his return. He was seized; and letters were found upon him, thanking Aristocrates both for information of the expedition now intended, and for former services. An assembly of the people was immediately summoned, in which the letters and their bearer were produced; and the leaders, in the interest opposite to Aristocrates, worked up the anger of the commonalty to such a pitch against their treacherous prince, that they stoned him to death. To perpetuate his infamy, a pillar was afterward erected, with an inscription, still preserved in the writings both of Pausanias

Pausan. l. 4. c. 22. Polyb. l. 4. p. 301. Plut. de sera Num. Vind.

and Polybius, warning future chiefs of the vengeance of the Deïty, which unfailingly sooner or later overtakes traitors and perjurors. SECT. IV.

The Pylians, Methonæans, and other Messenians of the coast, judging it now vain to attempt the defence of their towns, imbarked with their effects, in what vessels they could collect, and sailed to Cyllenë, a port of Eleia. Hence they sent a proposal to their fellowcountrymen in Arcadia, to go all together and settle a colony wherever they could find an advantageous establishment; and they desired Aristomenes for their leader. The proposal was readily accepted by the people, and, as far as concerned them, approved by the general; but excusing himself, he sent his son Gorgus, with Manticlus, son of his friend the prophet Theocles, to conduct the enterprize. Still it remained to be decided to what uninhabited or ill-inhabited coast they should direct their course. Some were for Zacynthus, some for Sardinia; but winter being already set in, it was soon agreed to put off the determination till spring. In the interval a fortunate occurrence offered. After the abandoning of Ithomë which concluded the former war, some Messenians, joining with some adventurers from Chalcis in Eubœa, had wandered to Italy, and there founded the town of Rhegium. These colonists had perpetual variance with the Zanclæans on the opposite coast of Sicily; a people also of Grecian origin, the first of whom were pirates, who settled there under Cratæmenes of Samos, and Perieres of Chalcis. Anaxilas, now prince of Rhegium, was of Messenian race. Hearing therefore of this second catastrophë of his mother-country, he sent to inform the Messenians at Cyllenë, that there was, in his neighborhood, a valuable territory, and a town most commodiously

Strabo, l. 6. p. 257. & 268. Pausan. l. 4. c. 23.

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situated, which should be theirs if they would assist him in dispossessing the present proprietors, his inveterate enemies. The offer was accepted: the confederates, victorious by sea and land, besieged Zanclë; and reducing the inhabitants to extremity, an accommodation was agreed upon, by which it was determined that the Messenians and Zanclæans should hold the city and country in common as one people, but that the name should be changed to Messenë.

Ol. 43. 3. B. C. 588. N. Ol. 27. 4. B. C. 669. B.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 23, 24.

Aristomenes for some time still indulged the hope, through some favoring contingency, to avenge his country on the Lacedæmonians. But going to Delphi, he found the Pythoness too wise to prophesy him any incouragement. Yet tho he was no longer to shine in a public situation, fortune was favorable to his private happiness. Damagetus, prince, or, as he is styled by Grecian writers, tyrant, of Ialysus in the iland of Rhodes, happened to be at Delphi inquiring of the oracle whom he should marry; for it seems to have been about this time that Delphi was in highest repute; individuals often straining their circumstances to obtain its advice on their more interesting private concerns. To a question in its nature rather puzzling, the Pythoness gave a very prudent answer, and at the same time of uncommonly obvious interpretation. She directed Damagetus to take the daughter of the man of highest character among the Greeks. Aristomenes, then on the spot, was unquestionably in reputation the first of the Greeks, and he had a daughter unmarried. Damagetus, therefore, made his proposals, which were accepted; and Aristomenes passed with him to Rhodes, where he is said to have passed the rest of his life in honorable ease.

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The Lacedæmonians found themselves masters of a country almost a desert. The Asinæans, indeed, whom, on the conclusion of the former war they had planted in Messenia, still retained their settlement. To the Nauplians, lately ejected from their country by the Argians, they now gave the town and territory of Methonë. The rest of Messenia they divided among themselves: and many of the miserable inhabitants, who had been either unable or unwilling to seek their fortune out of their native country, they reduced to the condition of Helots.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 24. Strabo, l. 8. p. 373.

Such is the account given by Pausanias; for the matter, in some principal points confirmed, but for the time of the settlement in Sicily, contradicted by earlier and far more authoritative writers. Numbers of the Messenians, unwilling or unable to emigrate, remained in the country, subjected to the harsh dominion of their conquerors. Many years then after Aristomenes, if his age is rightly assigned, they rose again in arms and maintained a war which put Lacedæmon a third time to difficulty. Overborne at length by superior force, a large part were reduced to the condition and name of Helots. Then it was that a fortunate number found means to escape from the country, and under the patronage of Anaxilas prince of Rhegium, established themselves in Zanclë, which had from them the name of Messena. This new settlement of the Peloponnesian Messenians, among many heavy misfortunes generally florishing, has always been a great city, at one time the capital of the iland; and an interesting memorial of a brave and unfortunate people is yet preserved in its name, with us commonly, according to the Latin orthography, Messina, but in its own country Messana, the original Doric form unaltered, to this day. How far the dreadful convulsion of the ele-

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 4. & 5. Plat. de Leg. c. 3. p. 698. t. 2. Strabo, l. 6. p. 268.

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ments, which a few years ago involved in common desolation Messina with its antient rival Reggio, and violently changing the face of nature to a great extent on both coasts, may beyond all former calamities urge its final downfall, or how far it may still more suffer from the political volcano, will be for the historian of future years to tell.

Here we might naturally suppose the history of Messenia ended. But we shall, in the sequel, find its unfortunate people still taking part occasionally in Grecian affairs, and at length, after more than a century and a half, by a very extraordinary revolution, becoming again the free masters of their antient country.

During the long course of years from the first hostilities with Messenia to the completion of the conquest, Lacedæmon was not without wars with other neighboring states, nor without political convulsions at home: but the chronology of that period is so utterly uncertain, that it were a vain attempt to arrange the facts reported, in scattered passages, by antient authors of best credit. Very early, we are told, a dispute arose concerning the limits of Argolis and Laconia. The Lacedæmonians ejected the Argians from Cynuria. Then they asserted, with similar violence, a claim to the territory of Thyrea. In the old age of king Theopompus, according to Pausanias, (therefore between the first and second Messenian wars, tho Herodotus seems to refer it to a later date) the armies of the two states meeting, it was determined, in a conference of the leaders, that the right to the lands in dispute should be decided by a combat between three hundred men from each army. The rest of the troops on both sides retired. The six hundred fought with such determined valor,

Pausan. l. 10. c. 9. Herodot. l. 1. c. 82. Plutarch. Parall. Min. vid. et Thucyd. l. 5. c. 41.

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and such equal strength and skill, that two Argians only, Chromius and Alcenor, remained alive; with not a single Lacedæmonian, as far as in the dusk of advanced evening they could perceive, surviving to oppose them. Eager, therefore, to relate their victory, they hastened to the Argian camp. But, during the night, Othryades, a Lacedæmonian, recovering from the loss of blood under which he had fainted, found himself, weak as he was, undisputed master of the field. His strength sufficed to form a trophy from the arms of his slain enemies, and he rested on the spot. On the morrow the Argians learned with astonishment that the Lacedæmonians claimed the victory. Another conference was held, in which neither side would yield its pretensions. The armies again met; and, after a most obstinate conflict, the Argians were defeated. The measure which followed, reported by Herodotus, and confirmed by Plato, strongly characterizes both the spirit of war and the spirit of government of the times. The whole Argian people having cut off their hair, (a common mark of public mourning) it was decreed, with solemn curses against transgressors, that 'no man should suffer his hair to grow, and 'no woman wear ornaments of gold, till Thyrea were 'recovered.' The animosity which we shall find long subsisting between Lacedæmon and Argos will, with the recollection of these circumstances, not appear extraordinary.

Plat. Phæd. p. 89. t. 1.

The Lacedæmonians had also early and long contentions with the Arcadians. These allied themselves with the Argians; with whose assistance the city of Tegea, formed, as we have before observed, by an assemblage of the inhabitants of nine villages, was fortified, and became capable of protecting the Arcadian borders against Lacedæmonian inroads.

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None of the neighboring people, in the earlier times, opposed Spartan incroachments with more valor, or more success, than the Tegeans. After often suffering considerable losses, the Lacedæmonians, however, at length gained some advantages; and the circumstances of the times induced that politic people to use the opportunity for forming a close alliance with the brave mountaineers; who in the sequel proved highly serviceable to them in their more extensive views of ambition.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 65. Pausan. l. 8. c. 45.

As it is in the nature of human affairs that things most advantageous shall have their inherent evils, so the nice balance, established by the Spartan lawgiver between the several powers of the government, naturally produced a constant, and often violent struggle of factions. But as the Lacedæmonian institutions were unfavorable to litterature, as they strongly inforced secrecy on politics, and as foreiners had little access to Sparta, we are very defectively informed of the internal transactions of that state. Authors of greatest credit are not to be reconciled concerning the first establishment of those magistrates called Ephors, who, in course of time, acquired almost a despotic authority. Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon, refer it to Lycurgus: Aristotle, Plutarch, and others, to king Theopompus, who completed the first conquest of Messenia. If magistrates with such a title were appointed by Lycurgus, the tenor of that lawgiver's institutions will not permit us to suppose that he meant to allow them powers such as they afterward exercised. He certainly favored oligarchy; and possibly the large authority which he committed to the senate might sometimes be abused. But from the consent of Grecian writers it appears that, if the ephors were not first appointed under Theopompus, their powers

Thucyd. c. 18. Plat. de Rep. l. 8. p.545.t.2. Isocrat. Panathen. Plato. Epist. 8. p.354.t.3. Xen. de Rep. Lac. Aristot. Polit. Plutarch. Lycurg.

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and privileges were, however, considerably augmented under his reign. That prince either found it necessary, for prevention of commotion, to grant indulgence to the people; or convenient, for his own power, to raise an authority capable of balancing the overbearing spirit of the senate[27]; whence perhaps the saying reported of him, on being reproached for transmitting the regal authority diminished to his posterity, 'that on the contrary he 'should transmit it greater, inasmuch as he should 'transmit it firmer.'

Plutarch. Apoph. Lac.

The ephors were five in number, elected from the people and by the people; and the purpose of their office was at first meerly to preserve to the people their constitutional rights against any attempts of the kings or senate. The tribunes of Rome afterward, in the cause of their appointment, in the purpose of their office, in their original powers and privileges, and in what they by degrees assumed, very remarkably resembled the Spartan ephors; and the history of both goes strongly to prove the inherent impotence of the antient democracy, which, in two of the best constituted commonwealths of antiquity, unable to maintain its own rights, was reduced to the absurd necessity of creating and supporting a tyrannical magistracy to defend them.

Arist. Polit. l. 2. c. 9.

Plutarch. Lycurg. & Agesil. & Cleomen.

[27] To such a balance, Plato, or whoever wrote the epistle attributed to him, seems to refer, where he calls the senate and the college of Ephors Φάρμακον τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς σωτήριον. Epist. 8. p. 354. t. 3.

CHAPTER V.

Summary View of the State of the Northern Provinces of Greece, and of the Establishment of the early Grecian Colonies; with the History of Athens, from the Trojan War to the first public Transaction with Persia.

SECTION I.

View of the State of the Northern Provinces of Greece after the Trojan War. History of Athens from the Trojan War to the Abolition of Royalty, and the Appointment of Hereditary Archons.

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WHILE Lacedæmon, partly through the internal vigor of its singular constitution, partly by conquest, was raising itself to a preëminence among the Grecian states, which, since the expulsion of the princes of the house of Pelops from the throne of Argos, none had obtained, a rival power, of very different character and very different institutions, was more silently growing without Peloponnesus. But the divisions, whence arose the weakness and insignificancy of the other Grecian people, were among the circumstances principally contributing to set Lacedæmon and Athens at the head of the nation. During some centuries after the Trojan war, we have no history of the northern provinces, beyond confused accounts of migrations and expulsions, which were frequent, and predatory wars, which were almost unceasing. The principal revolution, of which we are informed, was effected by the Bœotians, a Thes-

B. C. 841. N. 1124. B

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salian people; who, according to Thucydides, about sixty years after the Trojan war, migrating southward, joined some of their own tribe before settled in the neighborhood of Thebes, and, overpowering the Cadmeians, conquered the whole province, from themselves called Bœotia. Thebes which, as Homer seems to indicate, had been much reduced by the wars preceding the Trojan times, became the principal seat of the Bœotians; and under them again rose to importance.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 12. Schol. ad v. 505. l. 2. Iliad.

But the history of Bœotia, to a late period, remarkably verifies an observation of the great poet, upon its circumstances at a very early day, 'that none 'could live there without the protection of fortifica-'tions[1].' Military spirit is a plant naturally florishing in almost every barbaric soil. Political wisdom, without which military spirit is of very uncertain worth, requires much and careful culture, and, even in circumstances the most favorable, is of slow growth. The Bœotians could conquer, but they knew not how to legislate: they could spurn the tyranny of one, but they knew not how to establish the equal liberty of all. In the country which they had subdued, Thebes, by its central situation, the natural strength of the eminence on which stood the citadel, the largeness of the town, its copious springs of purest water, and the fruitfulness of the surrounding plain, invited the residence of the chiefs; who proposed thence to rule the other towns, in which they settled their followers. But the rich acquisition, which had been made by arms,

Thucyd. l. 3. c. 61.

[1] Mentioning the building of the walls of Thebes by Zethus and Amphion, he adds:

- - - Ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἀτύργωτον γ' ἐδύναντο
Ναιέμεν εὐρύχορον Θήβην, κρατερώ περ ἐόντε.

Odyss. l. 16. v. 264.

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was not without arms to be preserved: the whole people must be still military; and every township must suffice for its own protection, at least against sudden attacks from near neighbors, against whose spirit of war and rapine military force only could give security. With such necessary military power, some civil power must be allowed for the internal government of each municipality. The difficulty then, the universal difficulty, as we have formerly observed, of Grecian legislation, was to provide advantageous bonds by which all should be united, so that each might be protected by the strength of all, yet all be free.

Ch. 4. s. 1. of this Hist.

We are very imperfectly informed of the Bœotian constitution, yet we learn with certainty that it was unequal to its purpose. Eleven magistrates (when Thucydides wrote) presided, with the title of Bœotarch, over the affairs of the whole people. Afterward, according to Diodorus and Pausanias, they were only seven. Perhaps the number varied, as the power of Thebes rose or sunk, or as the smaller towns suffered or successfully resisted oppression. The election of these great officers was annual; their authority, like that of the kings of old, principally military; they commanded in chief the Bœotian armies. The political administration was also in their hands, but under the control of four councils; how constituted we are not informed, nor whether they possessed legislative as well as administrative power. Deputies from all the Bœotian towns sometimes met in one assembly, where the Bœotarchs presided; but this seems to have been rather convened on extraordinary occasions, than a permanent or periodical council, for transacting ordinary business, whether of administration or legislation. In general every town legislated for itself. All were

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 91.

Diodor. l. 15. c. 53. Pausan. l. 9. c. 13.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 37.

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thus truly separate republics; and while Thebes always claimed a right of presidency, at least of military presidency, a kind of protectorship, over all, the rest would often insist that each was united with the others only by voluntary league, and competent to decide for itself concerning all its forein interests, as well as its internal administration. All the towns of Bœotia, not less than of the rest of Greece, were divided between an oligarchal and a democratical party; but in these early times, the oligarchal mostly prevailing in Thebes, the influence of that leading city sufficed long to give oligarchy a general preponderancy in Bœotian politics.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 108. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 61.

Such is the picture which remaining memorials give of the state of Bœotia, from the Thessalian conquest downward for centuries; and, in the want of more particular accounts, it may serve to convey a general ideä of the state of the other provinces north of the isthmus: each divided into little self-governed townships; each distracted between an oligarchal and a democratical party, with some connection maintained throughout the whole, but mostly still more defective than that of Bœotia. THESSALY, by the extent and richness of its territory, should have carried the greatest political importance of perhaps any province of Greece. The whole country besides could not raise such a force of cavalry; and no other province, by the superiority of its produce to its consumption, could equally support expensive establishments, and maintain distant warfare. But Thessaly was divided, and subdivided, into little governments, yet more than Bœotia, with connecting institutions even more defective. Thus the history of its people is reduced to confused accounts of conquest, of which no detail remains, over the

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northern inhabitants of their own country, the Perrhæbians and Magnetes, and of eternal predatory war with the Phocians their southern neighbors; whence arose a national animosity that nearly involved the subjugation of all Greece, when assailed, as will be hereafter related, by a forein enemy.

Thucyd. l. 1. Herodot. l. 8. c. 27. & seq.

We have already observed the favorable circumstances by which ATHENS became early populous and polished beyond the other Grecian cities. From the time of the Trojan war till after the Dorian conquests in Peloponnesus, it affords nothing important for history. But such a revolution as that effected by the Heracleids could not be without material consequences to a neighboring state. The Athenian territory at that time extended to the Corinthian isthmus; where, to mark the limits, a pillar had been erected, on one side of which was ingraved, 'This 'is Peloponnesus, not Ionia,' for so Attica was then called: on the other side, 'This is not Peloponne-'sus, but Ionia.' But the people of the peninsula itself, throughout the province that stretches along the coast westward from the isthmus, were of Ionian race. When Tisamenus, with his Achaian followers from Argos and Lacedæmon, had procured security to this country against the Heracleids, its narrow bounds were found unequal to the increased population: the new comers prevailed against the antient possessors, and the Ionian families were mostly compelled to emigrate. Athens, always hospitable to the unfortunate, amid those extensive troubles through Peloponnesus, principally afforded refuge. Not only the Ægialian Ionians, but many Messenians also, under Melanthus king of Pylus, resorted thither. The Athenians were then ingaged in war with Bœotia; and on this account, and per-

Strab. l. 9. p. 392.

l. 9. p. 393. & l. 14. p. 633.

haps through some dread also of the conquering Dorians, were the more solicitous to accommodate all that offered, as an addition of strength to the state. The charity was not unproductive of reciprocal benefit. For the armies of Athens and Bœotia meeting, the Bœotian king proposed to decide the matter in dispute between the two states by single combat between himself and Thymœtes, then king of Athens. Thymœtes, probably knowing himself inferior in bodily strength and agility, declined the challenge. But the temper of the times was favorable to that mode of deciding political controversies[2]. Melanthus therefore, the Messenian prince, who had his fortune to seek, offered himself for champion of the Athenians, and was accepted: he was victorious, and the scepter of Athens was his reward. Thymœtes was deposed, and with him ended the succession of the family of Theseus.

SECT. I.

Strabo, l. 9. p. 393.

Herodot. l. 5. c. 65. Pausan. l. 2. c. 18.

Tradition is little accurate concerning a war which followed between the Athenians and Peloponnesians. But a conquering people is commonly an overbearing people; the protection given by Athens to the refugees from Peloponnesus would afford pretence; and the Dorians, we find, soon after their establishment in the peninsula, made incroachments on the Athenian frontier, and founded the town of Megara on the northern coast of the Saronic gulph. When Codrus succeeded his father Melanthus in the kingdom of Attica, Megara seems to have been already firmly settled. Hostilities however continued, or were recommenced; and so large assistance came to the Megarians from Peloponnesus, that Athens itself was threatened with subversion. While the

Strabo, l. 9. p. 393.

B. C. 804. N. 1070. B.

[2] In the return of the Heracleids, according to Strabo, the possession of Eleia was so determined κατὰ ἔθος τι παλαιὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Strab. l. 8. p. 357.

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hostile armies were incamped so near together that a battle appeared unavoidable, the Delphian oracle was consulted about the event. The answer of the Pythoness was understood to import that the Peloponnesians would be victorious, provided they did not kill the Athenian king. This response being promulgated, Codrus, in the heroïc spirit of the age, determined to devote his life for the good of his country. Disguising himself in the habit of a peasant, with a fagot on his shoulder, and a hook in his hand, he entered the enemy's camp. Observing in one part a crowd of soldiers, he pushed in among them; words arose; he struck a soldier with his hook; the soldier retorted with his sword, and Codrus was killed. Inquiry being presently made about the tumult, the body was found to be that of the king of Athens; upon which the Peloponnesian chiefs, dreading the accomplishment of the oracle to their overthrow, hastily withdrew their forces into Peloponnesus. A peace with Megara seems to have followed[8].

Lycurg. or. con. Leocrat. Pausan. l. 7. c. 25. Vell. Paterc. l. 1. c. 2. Justin. l. 2. c. 6.

The death of Codrus, while it thus fortunately delivered Athens from the dangers of forein war, was the immediate cause of internal sedition, threatening nearly equal evils. Medon, eldest son of Codrus, was lame: and bodily ability still held that high rank in popular estimation, that his younger brother made advantage of this defect to dispute the succession with him. Each found strong support: but the contention brought forward a third party still stronger, which was for excluding both, declaring

Pausan. l. 7. c. 2.

[8] The spot where Codrus fell was preserved in memory, or pretended to be preserved, in the time of Pausanias, and shown near the altar of the Muses on the bank of the Ilissus, opposite to the temple of Diana Agrotera, whose ruins yet remain on the other bank. Pausan. l. 1. c. 19. Sir George Wheler's Journey into Greece, and Stuart's Antiquities of Athens.

they would have no king but Jupiter. The most fatal consequences were to be apprehended, when fortunately a declaration of the Delphian oracle was procured in favor of Medon, and the business was amicably accommodated. It was determined that, after Codrus, who had merited so singularly of his country, none ought to be honored with a title of which it was impossible for any living man to be comparatively worthy: that, however, Medon should be first magistrate of the commonwealth, with the title of Archon, chief, or prince; and that this honor should remain hereditary in his family; but that the Archon should be accountable to the assembly of the people for due administration of his high office. And as Attica then, through the multitude of refugees, overabounded with inhabitants, it was agreed that a colony should be sent to Asia Minor, of which Androclus and Neleus, younger sons of Codrus, should be leaders. Thus was internal quiet restored to Athens as happily as external peace. The restless spirits mostly joined in the migration: the storm of contending factions dispersed; and the affairs of the commonwealth flowed so smoothly for some generations after, that no materials for history remain.

SECT. I.

Schol. in Aristoph. Nub.

Herodot. l. 9. c. 97. Strab. l. 14. p. 632, 633. & 640. Pausan. l. 7. c. 2.

SECTION II.

Grecian Ilands: Æolic and Ionic Migrations: Grecian Colonies in Asia Minor, Thrace, Cyprus, Africa, Sicily, and Italy.

WHILE Athens thus was injoying repose, and the ambition of Lacedæmon was yet confined within the narrow bounds of Peloponnesus, the theater of Grecian action, or, we may say, Greece itself, was ex-

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panding very greatly, through those numerous colonies which were poured forth in every direction. Of the Grecian ilands, Crete almost alone has occurred hitherto as an object of history. The others of the Ægean sea were antiently held, and perhaps originally, some by Phenicians, but most by the people called Leleges, a branch, apparently, of the Pelasgian hord, who, as well as the Phenicians, exercised continual piracy. Minos king of Crete expelled both, and planted colonies of his own people in their room. Afterward the power of the Cretan kings decaying, some of those ilands became independent, and others were variously subjected. Eubœa, one of the largest and most valuable in the Grecian seas, never probably was under the dominion of the Cretan kings, and indeed was scarcely in the circumstances of an iland; being separated from the coast of Bœotia by a channel so narrow and shallow that it is in effect an adjoining peninsula. While the Ionic Pelasgians of Attica spred southward into Peloponnesus, they had also extended their settlements northward into this iland, where Chalcis and Eretria are said to have been Athenian colonies before the Trojan war. Those two cities, tho distinct governments, yet maintained such close alliance as to form almost one state, and became very florishing. They held the neighboring ilands of Andros, Tenos, and Ceos in subjection: they extended the Grecian name northward by planting the peninsulas of Pallenë and Athos, together with the territory around Olynthus on the confines of Thrace and Macedonia; and they established colonies in Italy and Sicily.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 4. & 8. Herodot. l. 1. c. 171. Strab. l. 12. p. 572. & l. 14. p. 661.

Strab. l. 10. p. 447, 448.

Wood on Homer.

It has been supposed by some authors, but apparently without good grounds, that, before the Trojan war, migrations had been made from Greece

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to Asia Minor. We have seen that the earliest known people of the western parts of that country differed little in origin or in language from the inhabitants of Greece; and some of the towns on the coast were held by people so unquestionably Grecian, at so early a period, that the antiquarians of aftertimes, unwilling to allow anything to be Greek that did not originate from Greece, were at a loss to account for their establishment. Miletus, mentioned by Homer in his catalogue, and Teos, and Smyrna, are said by Strabo to have been Grecian towns before the Trojan war. But the great Æolic and Ionic migrations made a complete revolution in the state of that fine country, and gave it almost intirely a new people. Of those extraordinary and important events, no antient author having left any complete account, it must be endevored to connect the scattered information remaining from writers of best authority, among whom Strabo will be our principal guide.

Chap. 1. sect. 4. of this Hist.

Strabo, l. 14. p. 573. 633, & 634. Pausan. l. 7. c. 2.

Not the prosperity, not the policy, but the troubles and misfortunes of the country gave origin to the principal colonies from Greece. The ÆOLIC MIGRATION was an immediate consequence of the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Heracleids. Penthilus, one of the sons of Orestes, took refuge upon that occasion in Eubœa, whither multitudes of Peloponnesians followed. Many found settlements there; but the larger number, joined by a powerful body of Bœotians, passed with their prince into Thrace. He dying, his son Echelatus led the colony across the Hellespont, and made himself master of Troy; putting then, it is supposed, a final period to that unfortunate city, and to the name of its people. In the mean time Cleues and Malaüs, also of the race of Agamemnon, had assembled a number

Strabo, l. 9. p. 402. l. 10. p. 447. l. 13. p. 582. Pausan. l. 2. c. 2.

Wood on Homer.

Strabo, l. 13. p. 582.

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of Peloponnesian fugitives on Mount Phricius in Locris, near Thermopylæ; and, passing thence to Asia Minor, founded the town of Cuma. Thus the whole coast, from Cyzicus on the Propontis to the river Hermus, together with the iland of Lesbos, conquered by Graïs son of Echelatus, became settled by Peloponnesians and Bœotians, and received the name of Æolis or Æolia. How long the monarchy was maintained we find no information. Very early however the Æolian towns appear to have become, like those of the mother-country, separate republics. An assembly at Cuma for a common sacrifice, but, as far as appears, without any professed political object, assisted to support some little connection between the Æolian cities.

Strabo, l. 13. p. 586.

Herod. l. 1. c. 149. & 157.

The great IONIC MIGRATION took place somewhat later, but produced colonies yet more florishing. It was led from Athens by Androclus and Neleus, younger sons of Codrus, upon the occasion, already mentioned, of the determination of the succession to the archonship in favor of Medon. A great multitude followed: many Athenians, and almost all the Ionian and Messenian families which the Dorian conquest had driven for refuge to Athens. They seized the finest part of the coast of Asia Minor, and, according to Herodotus, the finest country under the most favorable climate in the world; extending from the river Hermus southward to the headland of Posideion, and including the ilands of Chios and Samos. The Carian inhabitants were expelled, the Grecian were associated; and twelve cities were founded, which became all very considerable: Ephesus, Miletus, Myus, Lebedos, Colophon, Prienë, Teos, Erythræ, Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Chios, and Samos; to which was afterward added Smyrna, acquired from the Æolians. Androclus

l. 9. c. 97. Strab. l. 14. p. 632, 633. Diodor. l. 15. c. 49. Pausan. l. 7. c. 2. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 8. c. 5.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 142.

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fixed his residence at Ephesus, Neleus at Miletus. The authority of the former is said, by Strabo, to have extended over all the settlements. But monarchal was early superseded by republican government, with the claim of separate sovereinty for every municipal administration. A confederacy, however, apparently better established than the Æolian, connected the Ionian cities, with a regular general council called Panionion, or the Panionian Synod. Its sessions were originally held in a desert spot of the promontory of Mycale, and Neptune was the deity to whom it addressed sacrifices and looked for protection. Afterward, among the wars of the country, a situation in readier reach of human help being found requisite, a place was chosen, still not within the walls of a town, but near Ephesus. The territory thus acquired on the continent of Asia Minor, scarcely anywhere perhaps extending forty miles from the coast up the country, was, however, in length from the north of Æolis to the south of Ionia, near four hundred.

Herod. l. 1. c. 143, 148. Strabo, l. 14. p. 639. Diodor. l. 15. c. 49.

Still the Greeks acquired settlements southward of this tract, within the bounds of that corner of Asia which the great migrations had left to the Carians, genuine descendants of the Leleges, and which retained the name of Caria. Here the Trœzenians founded Halicarnassus, which became much more considerable than the parent-city. The adjacent iland of Rhodes had been very early occupied by people of Grecian race, some from Crete, it is said, some from Thessaly: and Homer relates, that Tlepolemus, son of Hercules, carried a colony thither from Argos, and afterward joined in the expedition against Troy. The great poet celebrates the power and wealth of Rhodes. In his time it was divided between three independent states, which

Herodot. l. 1. c. 171. l. 7. c. 99.

Strabo, l. 14. p. 656.

l. 14. p. 653. Iliad. l. 2. v. 674.

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were not till some centuries after united, when the city of Rhodes was built, in a very advantageous situation, for a common capital of the iland. A happy system of government prevailed: people of higher rank alone directed public affairs, but provision was made for the welfare and security of all[4]. Hence Rhodes long florished in commerce, arts, and arms, and extended its dominion over a considerable territory upon the neighboring continent. The Halicarnassians, on the contrary, held Cos, with some smaller ilands, in subjection. Other towns, on the continent and in the iland were founded by colonies from Megara. The Carian colonies in general boasted the DORIAN name. Their people, like the Æolian and Ionians, held meetings for common sacrifice, for which the promontory of Triopium was the chosen place; but their political connection, like that of the Æolians, was very imperfect.

Strabo, l. 14. p. 652. 655.

Herodot. l. 7. c. 99.

Strabo, ut ant.

The northern coast of the Ægean sea was not successfully and permanently settled by people from Greece so early as the eastern. It was, however, still an early period when, beside the acquisitions already mentioned of the Eubœans, all the best situations on the THRACIAN coast of the Ægean, and on both shores of the PROPONTIS, were possessed by Greeks, and some establishments were made far in the Euxine sea. MACEDONIA, occupied by a colony from Argos, under a leader of the family of Temenus the Heracleid, will require its own history.

Herodot. l. 2. c. 33. & l. 4. c. 12.

But these were not the most distant, or the most extraordinary of the Grecian acquisitions in those remote ages. Poetical tradition says, and the most

[4] Strabo is warm in eulogy of the Rhodian government: Θαυμαστὴ ἡ εὐνομία, he says. But his phrase to express its character is particularly remarkable: Δημοκηδεῖς δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Ῥόδιοι, καίτοι οὐ δημοκρατούμενοι. l. 14. p. 652.

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judicious Grecian writers adopted the report, that, shortly after the Trojan war, Teucer, son of Telamon, and brother of the celebrated Ajax, leading a colony from the little iland of Salamis on the coast of Attica, founded the city of Salamis in CYPRUS. Unquestionably Cyprus was very early settled by Greeks. It had still earlier been occupied by the Phenicians; from whom it derived that worship of the goddess Venus, originally a Syrian goddess, for which it became early and continued long remarkable. Cyprus was then wooded like the uncleared parts of America.—The Phenicians therefore, who, through their superiority in arts and manufactures, found more immediate profit in trading to inhabited countries than in planting the uninhabited, seem not to have been averse to the establishment of Greek adventurers there. On the contrary, the over-abundance of wood and the consequent scarcity of people were esteemed such inconveniencies, and the value of soil covered with wood was so trifling, that it was long customary to give lands to any who would clear them. Colony therefore followed colony, from Laconia, from Argos, from Athens, and some other parts. Thus, in time, Cyprus became completely a Grecian iland; and, from being an object for nothing but its ship-timber and its copper-mines, was made a rich and populous country, fruitful in corn, and famous for the excellence and abundance of its wines and oil. It was, however, in early times, divided into too many little states for any one to become considerable; and these fell mostly under that reprobated sort of monarchy which the Greeks denominated tyranny[5].

Pindar. Nem. 4. Isocrat. Niocles. p. 120. t. 1. Strabo, l. 14. p. 682.

Herod. l. 1. c. 105. Homer. Odyss. l. 8. v. 362. Strabo, l. 14. p. 684.

Strabo, l. 14. p. 684.

[5] Κατὰ πόλεις διηρημένῃ ἡ Κύπρος. Strab. p. 684.

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Among the most southern of that cluster of little ilands in the Ægian sea, called the Cyclades, is Thera, planted at an early period by a colony from Lacedæmon. This little iland also sent out its colony: the city of Cyrenë in AFRICA originated thence; and through the excellence of its soil, the opportunity of extending its territory, the convenience of its situation for commerce, and the advantage of its climate for productions valuable in exchange, Cyrenë rose to an importance impossible for the mother-country ever to attain. Its horses, of Arabian breed, by their victories on the course of Olympia, procured celebrity to their owners and their country from the pen of Pindar; whose extant works bear testimony to the early wealth of Cyrenë, and to the largeness of the towns that arose from it over that part of Africa which acquired the name of the Cyrenaïc. Barca, afterward called Ptolemaïs, became early a considerable independent commonwealth.

Herod. l. 4. c. 147. 155. Strabo, l. 10. p. 448. & l. 17. p. 837. Ol. 37. 3. B. C. 630. N. and B. Pindar. Pyth. 4. & 5. & 9.

Thus great and thus widely spred were the early Grecian colonies eastward, northward, and southward; and yet they were exceeded, in historical importance at least, by those planted toward the west. ITALY and SICILY were, in Homer's time, scarcely known but by name. They were regions of imaginary monsters and reäl savages; and the great poet has described these as accurately, as he has painted those fancifully. 'Neither plowing nor sowing,' he says, 'they feed on the spontaneous productions of 'the soil. They have no assemblies for public de-'bate; no magistrates to inforce laws; no common 'concerns of any kind: but they dwell in caverns 'on mountain-tops; and every one is magistrate and 'lawgiver to his own family.' The calamities and various confusion insuing from the Trojan war are said to have occasioned the first Grecian migrations

Strabo, l. 6. p. 267. Odyssee, l. 9. v. 108.

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to those countries: which appears highly probable, tho we should not implicitly believe the traditions which name the leaders and the spots on which they severally settled. But while we doubt whether Diomed, after having established colonies of his followers in Arpi, Canusium, and Sipontum in Apulia, really penetrated to the bottom of the Adriatic gulph, and became master of the country about the mouth of the Po; whether Pisa in Tuscany was built by those Peloponnesian Pisæans who had followed Nestor to the siege of Troy; and whether, as report says, at a still earlier day, the Arcadian Evander founded that village on the bank of the Tiber, which afterward became Rome; still we learn with unquestionable certainty that, if these were not facts, yet Grecian colonies were settled in various parts of Italy at a very early period: so early, that tho we can trace them very high, yet their origin lies beyond all investigation. The reputation was hence acquired by Cuma, on the Campanian coast, of being the oldest of all the Grecian towns both in Italy and Sicily; because it could with the greatest certainty refer its foundation to the remotest era. It was a colony led by Megasthenes and Hippocles from Chalcis and Cuma in Eubœa, not a great while, according to Velleius Paterculus, after the founding of those towns by the Athenians. The Campanian Cuma prospered and sent out its own colonies: Naples is among its offspring.

Strab. l. 6. p. 283, 284. Virg. Æn. l. 10. v. 28. Strabo, ut sup. & l. 5. p. 215. & p. 222. Virg. Æn. l. 10. v. 180. Strabo, l. 5. p. 230. Virg. Æn. l. 8. v. 51. 313. 336. Strabo, l. 5. p. 243. Ibid. Vel. Paterc. l. 1. c. 4.

One flourishing settlement in that inviting country would encourage farther adventures. The Chalcidians of Eubœa, we are told, finding, at a following period, their population too great for their territory, consulted the Delphian oracle. The Pythoness directed them to decimate their whole people, and send a tenth to found a colony. It happened that

Strabo, l. 6. p. 257.

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some of the principal Messenians, of those who had fled their country after the first war with Lacedæmon, were at the same time at Delphi to ask advice of the god. The managers of the oracle commanded them to join in the adventure with the decimated Chalcidians. Both parties were pleased with the order; and chusing for their leader a Messenian of the Heracleid family, they founded Rhegium on the southern point of Italy, which became a florishing and powerful state. Not long after, Tarentum was founded by Lacedæmonians; Locri Epizephyrii, and Medama, by Locrians from Crissa; Scylleticum, afterward called Scyllacium, by Athenians; Crotona, and Sybaris, from whose ruin rose Thurium, by Achaians; Salentum and Brundusium, by Cretans. Some of these had many inferior towns within their territory: and in the end full half the coast of Italy came into the possession of Greeks.

Strab. l. 6.

While the coasts of Italy thus became Grecian ground, settlements were made with equal or superior success in SICILY. Thucydides informs us that the name by which that iland first became known to the Greeks, was Trinacria; and that the first inhabitants, concerning whom any tradition reached them, were the Cyclopes and Læstrigons; whose history, however, with his usual judgement, he professes to leave to the poets. The Sicans, from whom it acquired the name of Sicania, he supposes to have passed from Spain; driven from their settlements there by the Lygurians. Afterward the Sicels, forced by similar violence from their native Italy, wrested from the Sicans the greatest and best part of the iland, and fixed upon it that name which it still retains. At a very early period the Phenicians had established, in some of the most secure situations around the coast, not colonies, but facto-

Thucyd. l. 6.

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ries, for the meer purposes of trade; and probably less the uninfluenced violence of the barbarous natives, than Phenician policy directing that violence, has given occasion to those reports, so much cultivated by the poets, of giants and monsters peculiar to Sicily. No Grecian trader dared venture thither: but some Phocian soldiers, in returning from the siege of Troy, being driven by stress of weather to the coast of Africa, and unable, in the imperfection of navigation, thence directly to reach Greece, crossed to the Sicilian coast. It happened that there they fell in with some Trojans, who, after the overthrow of their city, had wandered thus far in quest of a settlement. Brotherhood in distress united them; they found means to make alliance with the Sicans in the western part of the iland; and, establishing themselves there, Trojans, Greeks, and Sicans, formed together a new people, who acquired the new name of Elymians. The strong holds of Eryx and Egesta, called by the Romans Segesta, became their principal towns.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 2.

Strabo, l. 6. p. 267.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 2. Strabo, l. 6. p. 272. Plut. vit. Nic. init.

It was, according to Ephorus, as he is quoted by Strabo, in the next age, or generation, after this event, that Theocles or Thucles, an Athenian, being driven, also by stress of weather, on the eastern coast of the iland, had opportunity to observe how little formidable the barbarous inhabitants in that part reälly were, as well as how inviting the soil and climate. On his return he endevored to procure the authority of the Athenian government for establishing a colony there; but, not succeeding, he went to Chalcis in Eubœa, where his proposal was more favorably received. Many Chalcidians ingaged in the adventure. Thus incouraged, many from other parts of Greece joined them; and, under the

Strabo, l. 6. p. 267.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 3. Strabo, ut. sup.

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conduct of Thucles, they founded Naxus, the first Grecian town of Sicily.

A prosperous beginning here, as in Italy, invited more attempts. It was, according to Thucydides, in the very next year after the founding of Naxus, that Archias, a Corinthian, of Heracleid race, led a colony to Sicily. To the southward of Naxus, but still on the eastern coast, he found a territory of uncommon fertility, with a harbor singularly safe and commodious. Within the harbor, and barely detached from the shore, was an iland, about two miles in circumference, plentifully watered by that remarkable fountain, which, through the poets chiefly, has acquired renown by the name of Arethusa. From this advantageous post he expelled the Sicels, and founded there the city which became the great and celebrated Syracuse. Meanwhile Naxus so increased and florished, that, in the sixth year only from its foundation, its people, still under the conduct of Thucles, driving the Sicels before them, founded first Leontini, and soon after Catana. About the same time a new colony from Megara, under Lamis, founded the Hyblæan Megara. It was not till above forty years after, that any settlement was attempted on the southern coast, when a united colony of Rhodians and Cretans founded Gela. But the superiority of the Greek nation in Sicily was already decided; and Tauromenium, Selinus, Himera, Acræ, Casmenæ, Camarina, Acragas, called by the Romans Arigentum, and Zanclë, afterward named Messena, became considerable cities, mostly colonies from those before founded in that iland, or in Italy. The interior of both countries remained to the former race of inhabitants.

Thucyd. ut. sup. B. C. about 650. N. Ol. 12. 1. B. C. 732. B.

Strabo, l. 6. p. 270. Swinburne's Travels in Sicily, v. 2. p. 327. Mosch. Eidyll. 8.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 4.

Strabo, l. 6. p. 270.

It is indeed remarkable that the Greeks seem never to have coveted inland territories: their active

temper led them always to maritime situations; and if driven from these, they sought still others of the same kind, however remote from their native country, rather than be excluded from the means which the sea affords for communication with all the world. Accordingly the Italian and Sicilian Greeks (whose possessions were so extended as to acquire the name of Great Greece) and not less the African colonies, maintained constant intercourse with the country of their forefathers: particularly they frequented the Olympian games, the great meeting for all people of Grecian race. Still greater advantages perhaps were derived from the yet more intimate communication maintained by some of them with the Asiatic colonies: for there Grecian art and science first rose to splendor: there Grecian philosophy had its birth, and from the iland of Samos on the Asiatic coast the great Pythagoras came and settled at Crotona in Italy. Thus the colonies in general advanced nearly equally in improvements of art, science, and civilization, and sometimes went even before the mother-country. The first system of laws committed to writing among the Greeks, according to Strabo, was the celebrated code of the Epizephyrian Locrians, composed by Zaleucus; and scarcely any had greater fame, none was more extensively adopted, than that of the Catanian lawgiver Charondas. The political institutions of Zaleucus, were, according to Ephorus, as he is cited by Strabo, principally taken from those of Crete and Lacedæmon; the criminal law from the practice of the court of Areiopagus at Athens. It is said to have had the merit of being the first among the Greeks that secured the accused against the arbitrary authority of judges, by stating the penalty for every transgression; and his system altogether was admired for the general easi-

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Pindar. Herodot. l. 3. c. 138. & l. 6. c. 21.

Strabo, l. 6. p. 263.

l. 6. p. 259.

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12.

Strabo, l. 12. p. 539.

l. 6. p. 260.

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ness of its application, upon liberal principles, to all possible occurrences. His religious and moral precepts, always an essential part of the system of every early lawgiver, if we might give any credit to the disputed account of Diodorus, had very superior merit[6].

Diod. Sic. l. 12. c. 20. 24.

Few of the Grecian colonies were founded with any view to extend the dominion of the mother-country. Often the leaders were no more than pirates, not unlike the buccaneers of modern times. On a savage coast they seized a convenient port, set slaves to cultivate the adjoining lands, and themselves continued their cruises. When a state by a public act sent out a colony, the purpose was generally no more than to deliver itself from numbers too great for its territory, or from factious men, whose means of power at home were unequal to their ambition. Corinth, however, early, and in later times Athens, had sometimes farther views. Possessing naval force, they could give protection and exact obedience; of which the Grecian commonwealths in general could do neither. For the most part, therefore, in the colonies, as in Greece itself, every considerable town claimed to be an independent state; and, unless oppressed by a powerful neighbor, maintained itself by its own strength and its alliances.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 23. Herodot. l. 6. c. 17.

Strabo, l. 4. p. 158. Plat. de Leg. l. 5. p. 735. t. 2. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 38.

[6] The age of these lawgivers is very uncertain. Aristotle mentions it as reported that Charondas was fellow-disciple of the Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus, under the Cretan Thales, and that Zaleucus studied under Charondas. Polit. l. 2. c. 12. The inaccurate Diodorus, on the contrary, without hesitation, makes Charondas cotemporary with Pericles. It seems nevertheless unlikely that his age was so remote as Aristotle's report would make it. His reputation however was such among the Sicilian and Italian Greeks, that Plato does not scruple to rank him with Solon: Χαρώνδαν μὲν γὰρ Ἰταλία καὶ Σικελία, καὶ ἡμεῖς Σόλωνα (νομοθέτην ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι καὶ σφᾶς ὠφελησέναι αἰτιῶται.) Plat. de Rep. l. 10. p. 599. t. 2.

SECTION III.

History of Athens, from the Abolition of Royalty to the Legislation of Solon.

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HAVING thus briefly surveyed the extensive and important acquisitions of the Greek nation in various forein parts, we return to Athens. We have heretofore had occasion to observe that all the traditions of the Greeks, concerning the early history of their country, bear strong marks, if not of accuracy, yet at least of honesty. Even those ages distinguished by the epithets poetical, fabulous, and heroïc, are far from abounding with matter of flattery to the Greek nation. Homer's perfect impartiality is perhaps among the greatest wonders of his works; and from the period when his history ceases, to that in which the first prose historians lived, a space of at least two centuries and a half, we find absolutely nothing of what the character of vanity, so liberally attributed to the Greek nation, might lead us to expect. It is an observation of Sallust, that the actions of the Athenians, really great, nevertheless owe their superior reputation much to the superior manner in which their historians have related them. But those celebrated actions of the Athenians did not begin till the eyes of many inlightened and jealous people were upon them. That remote period of their history where invention, secure from conviction, might riot in flattery, is remarkably barren of circumstances flattering to the nation. Cecrops, their first hero, was no Athenian; even their favorite Theseus was not born in their country: Codrus was a Peloponnesian; and, with Codrus, heroïsm in the antient style ended. Here appears a striking

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difference between the histories of Greece and of Rome. The first accounts of Greece present us with a people inferior to the inhabitants of other known countries, looking up with reverence to any strangers who would do them the honor to come among them. After the times of the hydras, chimeras, flying horses, sea-monsters, and other mythological extravagancies, the hero whose actions remain recorded as most extraordinary, is Aristomenes; whose memory was cherished as the solace of an unfortunate people, while their conquerors, become the most powerful of the Greeks, have attributed no remarkable celebrity to any of their great men of the same age; but have left unquestionable victories to speak for themselves by their effects only. But the history of Rome, from the establishment of the consulate, is made up of gross flattery to the people at large, and to the great families in particular, till it became, in too notorious reality, a disgrace to human nature. I would not depreciate the just merit of the Romans. If we had no history of Rome from the time when it was sacked by the Gauls to the time when it ruined Carthage, still we should be certain that, in that interval, it must have produced not a few, but a whole people of great men. It is the history only, and not the people of Greece and Rome, that I mean at present to compare. In consequence of the modest veracity of the Attic historians, Athens is almost without history for some generations after the death of Codrus. The few objects occurring are not matter of boast. Twelve archons are named, who followed Medon by hereditary succession; and the vanity of aftertimes has not ascribed to any one of them, or to any one man under their government, a memorable action; tho, according to Blair's chronology, the reigns of the thir-

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teen were of no less than three hundred and sixteen years, from the year before Christ one thousand and seventy, to the year seven hundred and fifty-four. Newton, who places the death of Codrus only eight hundred and four years before Christ, makes the interval to the death of Alcmæon, the thirteenth archon, no more than one hundred and fifty-seven. It may not be absolutely useless to lay before the reader the barren list of names, which the investigators of Attic antiquities have preserved, as of persons who, under the title of king or archon, reigned in Attica, from earliest tradition to this period. He will judge whether inventive posterity has attributed to them an improbable proportion of brilliant atchievements. Ogyges is mentioned as a prince who reigned at a time beyond connected tradition. After an undetermined interval, the next named is the Egyptian Cecrops. To him succeeded Cranaüs, Amphictyon, Erechtheus, Pandion, Ægeus, Theseus, Menestheus, Demophoön, Oxyntes, Aphidas, Thymœtes, Melanthus, Codrus, Medon, Acastus, Archippus, Thersippus, Phorbas, Megacles, Diognetus, Pherecles, Ariphron, Thespicus, Agamestor, Æschylus, Alcmæon. Some writers have supposed three kings more between Amphictyon and Ægeus; making a second Cecrops, a second Pandion, and a second Erechtheus; or calling the first Erichthonius.

During the reigns of the hereditary archons, we do not learn that the Athenians had any transactions with other people, unless from the incidental mention by Strabo of their accession to the Calaurean league, of which some account has already been given. The next important occurrence in their history is a farther change in the constitution. On the death of Alcmæon, Charops was raised to the archonship upon condition of holding it for ten years

Ol. 33. 2. B. C. 647. N.

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Ol. 6. 4. B. C. 753. B.

Ol. 43. 2. B. C. 607. N.

Ol. 24. 1. B. C. 684. B.

only: but the naked fact alone remains recorded, unimbellished as unexplained. Six archons are said to have followed Charops by appointment for ten years. But, on the expiration of the archonship of Eryxias, a farther and greater change was made; the duration of the office was reduced to a single year, and its duties were divided among nine persons. These were appointed by lot, but out of the first order of the state, the eupatrids or nobles, only. All bore the title of Archon, but they differed in dignity and in function. One principally represented the majesty of the state: by his name the year of his magistracy was distinguished; whence he was sometimes called Archon Eponymus, but more usually he was intitled simply the Archon. The second in rank had the title of King. He was head of the religion of the commonwealth, to which principally the peculiar functions of his dignity related. The Polëmarch was third; and originally his office was what the title imports, chief in military affairs. The other six archons had the common title of Thesmothete: they presided as judges in the ordinary courts of justice, and the six formed a tribunal which had a peculiar jurisdiction. The nine together formed the council of state. Legislation remained with the assembly of the people; but almost the whole administration, political, military, judiciary, and religious, was with the archons.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 126.

Farther than this we are little exactly informed what was yet the constitution of Athens: for writing was hitherto so little practised in Greece, that there were no written laws. It was therefore impossible for improvements in legislation, or in the forms of government, to advance with any steddy pace, or, except with such extraordinary institutions as those of Crete and Lacedæmon, to rest on any

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firm ground. The abolition of hereditary supreme magistracy is a measure not generally likely to bring internal peace to a country; and the Athenian history, during above a century which, according to the lowest computation, passed between the appointment of annual archons and the Persian invasion, is supplied by scarcely anything but intestine troubles. Soverein power being open to all the principal families, some, who could not obtain it by legal, would seek it by illegal means. Cylon, a man of a very antient and powerful house[6], ill bore the superiority of the Alcmæonids, who claimed descent from the perpetual archons, and the kings of the Neleid line. He had married the daughter of Theägenes, tyrant of Megara: he had been victor in the chariot-race at the Olympian games; a circumstance which in those days of itself gave rank and reputation, not without some opinion of peculiar favor from the god of the festival; and being apparently a man of much ambition and little understanding, he interpreted a dubious response of the Delphian oracle as a declaration of divine blessing upon his purpose of making himself by violence master of the republic. With some troops, which he received from his father-in-law, he seized the citadel of Athens. But he seems to have been little prepared for the farther prosecution of his enterprize. Megacles, head of the Alcmæonid family, was archon. The people ran to arms under his conduct, and immediately laid siege to the citadel. Its strength might have enabled Cylon to maintain himself there, but he was without stores. Famine therefore pressing, he was not ashamed to seek his own safety in flight, leaving

Newton's Chronol.

Herodot. l. 5. c. 71. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 126. Plut. Solon. Pausan. l. 2. c. 18.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 126.

[6] Τῶν τὰλλα εὐγενὴς καὶ δυνατὸς. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 162.

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his adherents to their own measures. The manners of the age afforded better ground of hope in the superstition than in the generosity of their enemies. Forsaking therefore their arms they fled to the altars. Persuaded then to quit these, under promises of personal security, they were notwithstanding condemned and executed. The moral, the political, but still far more the religious guilt of this sacrilegious perfidy, made a deep impression upon the minds of the Athenian people. Political power remained with the archon and his party, but popular favor began to attach more to the cause of the injured. We are not informed what, beyond a general sense of the intolerable evils of an unsettled government, and an uncertain jurisprudence, led to the legislation of Draco, which soon followed. Draco was a man whose severe morals and inflexible uprightness justly recommended him, but who was unfortunately of genius very inferior to the undertaking. The political constitution he left nearly as he found it, but he established a new system of penal law. All crimes, equally from the most enormous to the most trifling, that became objects of his statutes, he made capital; urging that a breach of any positive law, being treason to the jurisprudence of the state, deserved death; and he could go no farther for greater crimes. The severity of such a system defeated its own purpose. Few would be accusers against inferior criminals, when the consequence was to be fatal to the accused; and the humanity of the judges interfering, where that of prosecutors was deficient, it followed that all crimes, except those highly atrocious, went wholly unpunished. The laws of Draco, therefore, were a very imperfect remedy for the evils under which Athens

Ol. 52. 1. B. C. 572. N.

Ol. 39. 1. B. C. 623. B.

Plut. Solon.

labored; in some instances they but increased them[7]. SECT. III.

Meanwhile the people of Salamis, probably suffering under the weak and uncertain government of Athens, revolted, after the example of so many other members of Grecian republics, and strengthened themselves by alliance with Megara. Many attempts were made to recover the iland by force of arms; but always with loss. Then followed the first instance upon record of any direct opposition of the democratical to the oligarchal part of the constitution. The people had submitted hitherto to be instruments of the great in their quarrels with one another; but now they refused any more to follow unskilful or unfortunate leaders against revolted fellowsubjects. Assembling by themselves, they decreed capital punishment against any, private or magistrate, who should ever propose to lead them again in arms against Salamis. The leading men were appalled. The lower people then having once felt their united strength, with arms in their hands, would hold it. But, masters as they were of the state, they knew not how to use their new power. United, they could prevent others from directing administration, but none were eminent enough to take the business upon themselves. The law concerning Salamis, as we learn from high authority, was not singular in its kind among the Greek republics; but the loss of Salamis, and its connection with a hostile state, were obviously great and threatening evils. A general dissatisfaction with their own act soon became evident among the people, but none dared propose a reversal of it. In these cir-

Plut. Solon. Justin. l. 2. c. 7.

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 24.

[7] Δράκωνος δὲ νόμοι μέν εἰσι· πολιτείᾳ δ' ὑπαρχούσῃ τοὺς νόμους ἔθηκεν. Ἴδιον δ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὃ τι καὶ μνείας ἄξιον, πλὴν ἡ χαλεπότης διὰ τὸ τῆς ζημίας μέγεθος. Aristot Polit. l. 2. c. 12.

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cumstances came forward one of the greatest characters that Greece ever produced. Solon, a young man of an old and honorable family of Attica, had been hitherto distinguished only by his love of learning and his genius for poetry. He managed now, it is said, to spred report that he had occasional accesses of madness; and for some time kept his house. In this retirement he composed a poem, that might excite the multitude to his purpose. Watching opportunity then, during an assembly of the people, he ran into the agora like one frantic, mounted the herald's stone, whence proclamations were usually spoken, and thence recited his poem to the crowd. Some of his friends were at hand, prepared to wonder, admire, and applaud. The people caught the frenzy; the law concerning Salamis was abrogated; and it was decreed immediately to send a fresh expedition against that iland. The business came into the hands of the party to which Solon attached himself: it was conducted with prudence, and the success was answerable: the Athenians recovered the iland with little loss. The government at the same time resumed in a great degree its former consistency, and the party of Megacles again directed the administration.

But among all the antient commonwealths, of which any account remains, we find violent agitations resulting from inequality of property: the principal division of the people was into the faction of the rich and the faction of the poor, and the animosities between these were vehement, and the contests marked with acrimony. Everywhere this evil appears to have had its root in the institution of slavery; whence the operation of wealth has been remarkably similar among all the antient republics, and remarkably different from anything known in

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modern Europe. Nowhere the poor had ready means of getting a livelihood by creditable industry. The rich, to acquire at the same time revenue and influence, lent their money. The poor, averse to employments which put them in appearance upon a footing with slaves, and often unable to obtain hire even for such employment, borrowed, at exorbitant interest, with their persons only to offer for security. Everywhere therefore the laws gave the lender certain rights over the person of the borrower. Thus the wealthy, to the power always attending property, added a power not originally intended by the constitution, yet derived from the laws, and confirmed by them. The indiscretion of the needy has always coöperated, at first, with the ambition of the rich, to increase that power. The indiscretion of the rich afterward, indulging a disposition to avarice and tyranny, has at length urged the poor to resist an authority to which themselves had contributed to give the sanction of law. At Athens an insolvent debtor became slave to his creditor; and not himself only, but his wife and children also, if less would not answer the debt. Sometimes a debtor would sell his children to save himself. Power on one side, and resources on the other, both so abhorrent to humanity, necessarily produced a violent irritation in the minds of the poor against the rich. But the oligarchal principle yet predominated in the Athenian constitution. The claims of birth were high: civil magistracy, religious office, military command, all remained, as they had been appointed by the laws of Theseus, the exclusive privilege of the eupatrids: almost the whole property of Attica was theirs; and it appears that the consequent oppression of the lower people was often severe. At the same time the constitutional power of the people

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12.

Arist. Polit. l. 2. c. 12.

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was great, weighty, and even overbearing, when they could be brought to anything approaching to unanimity in the exercise of it. In the contest of parties therefore it was the object of all to cultivate popularity.

While the struggles of faction were thus convulsing Athens, the Megacians found opportunity to retake Nisæa, and draw Salamis again to revolt. The opponents of Megacles then became clamorous about the sacrilege committed in the execution of the partizans of Cylon; insisting that it must be expiated, or greater misfortunes would follow from the wrath of the gods. Solon, it is said, had influence to persuade the accused peaceably to abide a trial, to which the administration of the republic was unable to compel them. They were condemned to exile; but the atonement was deemed insufficient to secure the commonwealth from the vengeance of the affronted deïty, till the bones of the offenders who had died were also removed beyond the mountains.

The superstition then which others had used to raise disturbance in the state, Solon conceived now to be the powerful and advantageous engine by which a better order of things might be produced. For his kindness to the lower people, and the disposition he always showed to provide them legal protection, he was extensively popular. Nevertheless the eupatrids, fearful of utter overthrow, seem to have been willing to commit their interest to his direction. With their coöperation reports were circulated of phantoms seen, and various ominous circumstances observed, which portended the anger of the gods. The people were alarmed: the priests declared that expiations and purifications were necessary; but how the divine wrath might with cer-

tainty be averted, they professed themselves at a loss to determine. SECT. III.

After various consultations, a deputation was sent to Crete, inviting Epimeneides, a philosopher of that iland, of high reputation for skill in the divinity of the age, to take upon him, in this season of anxiety and terror, the superintendence of the religion of Athens. To this stranger, the supposed favorite of the gods, the people looked with expectation and awful suspense, while he directed the performance of sacrifices and processions, with increased pomp and new ceremonies. The dazzling splendor, and alluring but well-regulated festivity, which accompanied every act of devotion, ingaged the public mind, checked the pursuits of faction, and led to the establishment of good order and sober conduct. According to Plutarch, that scheme of improvement in the government and jurisprudence of the commonwealth, afterward executed by Solon, was at this time concerted with the Cretan philosopher; with whom Solon is said to have lived in intimate friendship, and to whose worth and abilities we have Plato's testimony in strong terms. At present Epimeneides was the ostensible director of everything: but excepting the new religious ceremonies, we find only one permanent regulation attributed to him: he restrained the usual excess of public mourning for deceased relations, which had often led to tumult; being conducted, after the manner of many barbarous nations, and of the provincial Irish to this day, with public and clamorous lamentation and weeping, in which the women bore a principal part. Internal quiet being thus restored to Athens, Epimeneides took his leave. High honors and valuable presents were decreed to him by the state for his services. He refused all, and requested only a

Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 677.

Plut. Solon. Herodot. l. 8. c. 55.

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branch of the sacred olive-tree which grew in the acropolis, said to be the parent of its kind, and to have sprung from the ground at the command of the goddess Minerva. This being granted, he returned to Crete. When superior abilities have acquired influence to one man over the many, such ostentatious disinterestedness beyond all things confirms their power; and it is in times only when honorable poverty may be an object even of ambition to men of superior talents, that great reformations in a state are to be expected.

But the disorders of Athens, having their foundation in a defective constitution, were but in small part removed, and for the rest meerly lulled, by the measures of Epimeneides. Each order of the state by itself had too much power, the authority of the two was not duly connected and blended, and a moderator was wanting to hold the balance between them. The whole authority of the country was not yet concentrated in the city: the landed interest had considerable weight. Among the proprietors of the mountainous tracts, the democratical interest prevailed; the plain country was mostly the possession of the eupatrids, whose general aim was to establish an exclusive oligarchy; but the mercantile men and many landowners of the coast, averse to either extreme, were anxious for a mixed government. Hence Highlanders, Lowlanders, and Coastmen, became the distinguishing names of three factions which long divided the Attic people. The contentions of these grew so threatening, that, according to Plutarch, many sober men began to think that nothing less than the establishment of regal power, or, as it was then called, a tyranny, could prevent greater evils. Then the superior character of Solon drew the attention of all parties. He was ob-

Plutarch. Solon.

noxious to none: not to the lower people, because, tho rich, he never oppressed any: not to the higher, because, tho adverse to their private tyranny, he favored their political power. His superior wisdom had been approved; his integrity was believed above all influence; and he was respected universally. He was accordingly with general, or, it is said, unanimous consent, appointed archon, with peculiar powers for reforming the laws and constitution. SECT. III. Ol. 54. 3. B. C. 562. N. Ol. 46. 3. B. C. 594. B.

SECTION IV.

Reformation of the Athenian Government and Jurisprudence by Solon.

Barbarous ages are most favorable for legislation. History affords few instances of great improvement in the constitution of polished states. The means there can scarcely occur but through some violent convulsion, threatening subversion, confounding all establishments, and reducing things to the chaos of barbarism. The English constitution stands singular in the circumstance of its gradual improvement. But the materials of its foundation, derived from German forests, were arranged by the great Alfred in days of the deepest barbarism: and our jurisprudence, by the acknowlegement of our greatest lawyers, received more improvement in the early reigns of Henry the Second and Edward the First than in all the centuries since. The friends of Solon appear to have been aware of the greater difficulty of political reformation among an inlightened people, when, doubting the sufficiency of the authority given him to repress the effects of party, and curb the interfering ambition of powerful individuals, they offered to assist him in assuming royalty, and with a high hand SECT. IV. Plutarch. Solon.

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molding all things to his own pleasure. Solon was wise enough, for his own sake, to refuse that dangerous preëminence; and, for the sake of his country, to avoid attempting those fundamental changes for which he saw the season was past. Bold as well as virtuous, he had yet neither the daring nor the severe temper of the Spartan lawgiver; but each seems to have been born for his own age and country.

Like Lycurgus, Solon's first object, and what indeed the state of things at Athens most urgently demanded, was to remedy the evils produced by inequality of possessions; to reconcile the rich with the poor, to relieve these without violently offending those. But Solon would obviate the abuse, not abolish the use of riches. The business was of extreme nicety. Accounts differ concerning the manner in which it was effected; but the legislator at length brought the two parties to join in a common sacrifice, which was called the Seisachtheia, or feast of delivery from burthens, and all was settled: probably, as some authors have related, not by annulling the debts, but by lowering the interest; by giving means of advantage to the debtor through some alterations in the value of money; and especially by taking from the creditor all power over the persons of the debtor and his family.

This most difficult and dangerous business being accommodated, Solon proceeded to regulate the constitution of the commonwealth. We are told that Lycurgus being asked why he, who in other respects appeared so zealous for the equal rights of men, did not make his government democratical, rather than oligarchal, 'Go you,' the legislator answered, 'and try a democracy in your own house.' Solon was not unaware of the evils inherent in that turbulent

Plutarch. Apoph. Lacon.

form of rule; and he proposed to obviate its inconveniences, by the establishment of balancing powers. But the great resource of representation and delegated authority, tho not unknown among the Greeks, seen in earliest times in the council of Amphictyons, and afterward in national congresses, was however nowhere so arranged as to afford any very promising example. Solon therefore gave supreme power to the people in assembly, where every free Athenian had his equal right to vote and speak; a foundation of evil so broad, that all the wisdom of his other regulations was weak against it.

It were, however, difficult, if not impossible, by the most accurate collection of what remains to us in various antient authors, to ascertain what was at any time, in every particular, the form of government of Athens; nor have we the means of always determining what was, and what was not, of the institution of Solon. The learned Archbishop Potter, and those who have followed him, with all their labors, leave us in the dark concerning some matters which we might wish to have elucidated: for if it were only on account of the esteem in which they were held by the Romans, who must have been impartial as well as otherwise most respectable judges, the institutions of Solon would be among the greatest objects of curiosity in all antiquity. Indeed they may be considered, in some degree, as the fountain of all the legislation and jurisprudence of Europe; being the acknowleged model of the Roman law, which has formed that of many of the European nations, and contributed considerable improvements to all, even to our own. In thus tracing modern jurisprudence upward, we arrive indeed at a very remote source. Through Rome we pass to Athens, to Crete, to Egypt. But it is in the constitution and

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practice of Athens that a regular and scientific jurisprudence first becomes known to us in any detail: and tho Athens probably gained much from Crete, first by Theseus, then by Epimeneides, yet those improvements, that polish, which formed the peculiar merit of its constitution, have by the consent of all been attributed to Solon.

In the inquiry then what the Athenian constitution was, it will be first necessary to take a view of the COMPONENT MEMBERS of the Athenian commonwealth; because in these it differed so widely from everything in modern Europe, that this alone suffices to prevent any close resemblance in almost any particular. The results of two polls of ATHENIAN CITIZENS remain reported to us; one taken in the time of Pericles, the other in that of Demetrius Phalereus. By the first they were found to be no more than fourteen thousand and forty persons; probably men above the age of thirty, before which they were not competent to be admitted on juries for the trial of causes, nor, it should seem, regularly to vote in the general assembly: tho, whatever may have been the ordinance of Solon, this point seems, in aftertimes, to have been less decisively settled than its importance required[8]. At the second period the Athenian

Plut. vit. Peric. Athen. Deipnos. l. 6.

[8] It appears strange that such a point should have been left undetermined in the Athenian constitution, and yet it seems to have been so. Aristophanes, in his comedy of the Knights, introduces the people, represented by a single person with the name of Demus, saying in general terms, 'I will not allow 'beardless youths to meddle with the business of the agora.' Cleisthenes and Straton are then named as very young men who had put themselves forward in public affairs; and Demus proceeds, 'I will send such youths a-hunting, and will not permit 'them to be proposing laws (1).' In Xenophon's Memoirs of Socrates we find Glaucon, brother of Plato, of a noble, but not a wealthy or powerful family, attempting to speak in the assembly of the people before he was twenty years old; and Plato

(1) Aristoph. Equit. v. 1370.

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citizens were twenty-one thousand; and at the same time there were found resident in Attica ten thousand FREEMEN of age to pay the capitation-tax, who had NOT the rights of Athenian citizens, being either foreiners, or of forein extraction, or freed slaves, or descended from such; all comprehended under the common name of METIC; and the SLAVES in actual bondage, men, women, and children, were no less than four hundred thousand.

This proportion of slaves to freemen, in a commonwealth so boastful of liberty as its darling passion, astonishes. Not that it is difficult to account for either the origin, or this enormous increase of slavery in the progress of society. For savages can exist only where they are few in proportion to the territory they have to wander over. As numbers increase, agriculture becomes necessary to subsistence, and the savage state ends. Still while choice and change of soil are open, moderate labor suffices, in a favorable territory and climate, to maintain a family. But when every productive spot is occupied; when necessity becomes the mother of art, and when arts advancing, wants increase, when thus, in the progress of national prosperity, those who cultivate the soil are only a small proportion of those to be fed by it; the degree of labor then wanting from the numbers employed, to procure from the earth a cheap abundance of its most valuable and necessary productions, is so irksome, that nothing less than constant practice from early years can make it tolerable. Few persons in easy circumstances readily conceive this. Living mostly in towns, they talk with ignorant envy of the healthy

represents Alcibiades proposing to become a public man at an equally premature age. Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 3. c. 6. Plat. Alcib. 1.

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labors of the peasant. Those labors of the peasant, not generally adverse to health indeed, unfailingly bring on immature old age. The limbs early stiffen: they bear the accustomed labor, which no others can bear: but they lose that general power of brisk exertion which we call activity. The internal frame at the same time wears; and even the luxurious sometimes reach a length of days which the hard-laboring man never sees. When warlike people, therefore, emerging from the savage state, first set about agriculture, the ideä of sparing the lives of prisoners, on condition of their becoming useful to the conquerors by labor, was an obvious improvement upon the practice of former times, when conquered enemies were constantly put to death; not from a spirit of cruelty, but from necessity; for the conquerors were unable to maintain them in captivity, and dared not set them free. SLAVERY thus established, it is easy to conceive how it would increase. In infant societies labor cannot be hired; because all can employ themselves in their own concerns. Hence the necessity for slavery in our colonies. Tradition still in the age of Herodotus preserved memory of the time when slavery was unknown in Greece; but before Homer, as we have seen, slaves were numerous. Throughout Greece the slave-trade became as regular a branch of commerce as now in the West Indies: Athens had its slave market. But hired labor, which formerly could not be had, then became little desirable. The poor, therefore, to subsist, must either emigrate, or become voluntary slaves, like the indented servants of America; which, we are told, was not uncommon. The great superiority in number of slaves to freemen at Athens, with these considerations will not appear wonderful. The disproportion was greater

Herodot. l. 6. p. 137.

at Lacedæmon, and scarcely inferior over Greece[9]: tho it was probably not so great in the age of Solon, as it was become in that of Demetrius Phalereus.

From this view of things then, it appears that DEMOCRACY was a mode of government not so absolutely absurd and impracticable among the Greeks, as it would be where no slavery is. For tho in democracies the supreme power was nominally vested in all the people, yet those called the people, who exclusively shared that power, were scarcely a tenth part of the men of the state. The people, moreover, were almost all in circumstances to have received some education, and to subsist by easier means than those which, through constant labor of the body, disable the mind for liberal exertion. It was held by the Grecian politicians as a self-evident proposition, that those who are to share in government should have the means of living independently in leisure; and the only question was, how, in a democracy, those means should be secured to a whole people[10]. Slavery, however, was absolutely necessary; and hence, tho it was disputed by some philosophers, yet Aristotle maintains that slavery is natural among mankind. The same great author supposes a commonwealth consisting of thirteen hundred families; of which one thousand should be rich, and three hundred poor. Antiently in Colophon, he adds, most of the citizens had large property. The proportion of slaves must of course be

Aristot. Polit. l. 1. c. 5. & 6.

l. 4. c. 4.

[9] Thucydides says, the proportion of slaves was nowhere greater than in Chios, except in Laconia. l. 8. c. 40.

[10] "Οτι μεν οὖν δεῖ, τῇ μελλούσῃ καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι, τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν σχολήν, ὁμολογουμενον ἐστι· Τίνα δὲ τρόπον ὑπάρχειν οὐ ῥᾳδιον λαβεῖν. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 9. And to the same purpose nearly Plato: Τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ οὔτε νοῆσαι χαλεπὸν, οὔτε πλήσασθαι· τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν οἰκετῶν, χαλεπὰ πάντα. De Leg. l. 6. p. 776.

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great. In Lacedæmon, as we have seen, the constitution required that every freeman should be strictly a gentleman; and in the rest of Greece, scarcely any were so low as our laborers and handicraftmen. At Athens the meat distributed at sacrifices, and the pay for attendance on public business, went far to support the poor. Thus the greatest part of the people were inabled to live with little bodily labor, and incouraged to application of the mind.

But SOVEREIN Power being thus vested in the GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE, it was of great consequence, to ascertain who were ATHENIAN PEOPLE, legally intitled to that high privilege; and to provide effectually for the exclusion of those who were not so. Attica had been divided in very early times, it is said by Cecrops, in a manner very nearly analogous to that of our own country by the great Alfred, into shires, hundreds and tithings. These divisions of Attica, in the course of ages, underwent changes both of name and effect; and two of the three seem to have remained of principal use, the Phyle and the Demus, Tribe and Borough, as archbishop Potter turns them; but Dryden translates the former word literally, and more properly, by the old English term, Ward[11]. The Wards, from Cecrops till about fifty years after Solon, were only four. A new division was then made of the country and people into ten wards; and the boroughs were a hundred and seventy-four. Each ward or phyle had its presiding magistrate, called Phylarchus or Epimeletes Phyles, analogous to our sheriff; and each borough or demus its Demarchus, analogous

[11] This word is still retained in a sense exactly analogous to the Attic, for the primary divisions of the city of London, and of the county of Northumberland.

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to our constable or head-borough. It is remarkable that as the title of King, Basileus, was scrupulously preserved to the highpriest, or person presiding over the religious concerns of the Attic nation, so the president of the religious concerns of each ward was intitled Phylobasileus, King of the Ward; and he was always appointed from among the nobly born, the eupatrids. Every child, born to the privileges of an Athenian, was carefully registered soon after birth. Youths at eighteen were inscribed in a second register, when they were reckoned among the Ephebi, and became liable to military duties within Attica. At twenty, being esteemed men, they were introduced at a public meeting of their demus, and were registered a third time.

If democracy was a form of government desirable for any people that ever existed, the Lacedæmonians must have been above all others competent for it: yet Lycurgus deemed it unfit even for those among whom was no difference of rank, or riches, or education, but who were all equally, and with assiduous attention, bred for the business of the commonwealth only, and to all of whom equally he meant to secure the most perfect freedom of which mankind in society is capable. Solon, therefore, more yielding to the temper of the times and the difficulty of circumstances than pursuing what himself thought best, having confirmed to the Assembly of the People an authority more universally and uncontrolably absolute than any despot upon earth ever did or ever can possess, his great concern was to establish some balancing power, capable in some degree of obviating the evils which a soverein multitude is ever ready to bring upon itself. Theseus, as we have seen, had divided the Attic people into three ranks, or perhaps rather into two ranks, though

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there were three classes; and by his law those of the first rank were alone competent for magistracy of any kind. Various changes seem to have been made after him, as it suited the interest of leaders of prevailing factions to inlarge or to abridge the privileges of the lower orders; and when Solon undertook the legislation, contradictory precedents had been so numerous as nearly to have overthrown all rule. That lawgiver made a new division of the people into FOUR RANKS, determined meerly by the value of every man's possessions. The first rank consisted of those whose lands produced yearly, in corn, wine, oil, any commodity, dry or liquid, five hundred of the Attic measure called Medimnus; whence they had the title of Pentacosiomedimnians. The second rank was composed of persons whose lands yielded at least three hundred measures. These, as well as the first rank, were exempt from service in the infantry and on shipboard, except in some command; but they were bound to keep a horse for the public; and, within the age for military service, to serve personally in the cavalry. Hence they had the title of Hippeis, Horsemen, or, as our writers often translate it, by our antient term for a horse-soldier, Knights. The third rank, called Zeugites, were of persons whose lands produced two hundred measures, but less than three hundred. These, being deemed of estate insufficient to be required to keep a horse for public service, were bound to serve in the infantry among the heavy-armed, and to be provided with complete arms for the purpose. The rest of the citizens, not possessed of lands producing two hundred measures, were comprehended under the name of Thetes. These also, like the rest, were bound to military service. If provided with sufficient armor, they might in-

crease the force of the heavy-armed: if not so provided, they were reduced to the less honorable service of the light-armed. But when Athens became a maritime power, the Thetes principally manned the fleet; in that service they might be esteemed perhaps superior to the crowd, as it was often contemptuously called, of light-armed infantry, but the meer seaman was never reckoned equal in rank with the heavy-armed soldier. SECT. IV.

We shall in vain inquire what, according to the relative value of money and commodities in our own age and country, was the value of an Attic estate in the age of Solon, estimated by so uncertain a medium as hundreds of measures of any produce of the earth, dry or liquid: Arbuthnot, in his diligent researches on the subject, seems to have been unable to satisfy himself for any era of the Athenian commonwealth. But in a country like Attica, almost without meadows, little fruitful in corn, and, in Solon's age, little commercial, horsekeeping would be very expensive. The lawgiver, therefore, in excusing the possessors of estates, yielding less than three hundred measures annually, from keeping a horse for public service, judged, nevertheless, that an estate of two hundred would put the owner so far at his ease, that he might be competent, not only to serve in the heavy infantry without pay (distant service being wholly out of his view,) but also to execute offices of magistracy for which no salary was allowed. The Athenian magistracies accordingly were, by his constitution, to be filled from the first three ranks of citizens. The election of magistrates he committed to the fourth in common with the others. The fourth also was admitted on juries who decided causes in the courts of justice, and to the fourth he allowed the equal vote of every Freeman in the

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12.

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soverein Assembly of the People. This sufficed in the end to put unlimited power into the hands of those least capable of properly exercising any power; for the fourth rank, being more numerous than all the others, would, if united, of course be omnipotent, and might overthrow Solon's barriers, and alter the constitution, as we shall hereafter find they did, to their own pleasure and their own ruin[12].

Still, however, pursuing his view of forming a balance against the indiscretion of the multitude, Solon instituted a new COUNCIL or SENATE, consisting of one hundred persons out of each of the four wards which composed the Attic people. Such an assembly, he hoped, would have a weight which the College of Archons had been unable to maintain; and he therefore committed to it many of the powers which had before belonged to those magistrates. But this council becomes more known to us after the increase of the number of Wards to ten; when fifty counsellors were appointed out of each, making the whole number five hundred. Its common title was THE COUNCIL; but for distinction it was called the Council of Five Hundred, or sometimes simply THE FIVE HUNDRED. The members were appointed annually by lot, from among those of the Athenian people, legally qualified for the dignity, who were desirous of obtaining it. But previously to their admission they were to undergo, before the existing council, a strict inquiry concerning their past life, which was termed Dokimasia; when, if anything could be proved prejudicial to their character, they were to be rejected. The

[12] It will be but justice to the character of Solon to observe, that better political principles were not discovered so late as the age of Isocrates. See his Areiop. p. 112. v. 2. Δεῖ τὸν μὲν Δῆμον, κ. τ. ἑ.

counsellors of each tribe in turn, for the space of thirty-five days, had superior dignity and additional powers, with the title of PRYTANES; and from them the council-hall was called PRYTANEIUM. The Prytanes were in turn Presidents of the council; and each held that high office only one day; during which he had the custody of the public seal, of the keys of the treasury, and of the keys of the citadel. The whole assembly formed the Council of State of the Commonwealth, having constant charge of its political concerns. It was moreover a particular and very important function of this council to prepare business for the Assembly of the People; in which, according to Solon's constitution, nothing was to be proposed which had not first been approved here. But the powers which he had already ratified to that assembly were too preponderant for any certain restraint. Whenever, at the instigation of a factious demagogue, it desired more, it might demand and take.

Aware how much the business of all is liable to be considered as the business of none, Solon, having given soverein power to the people, would not leave it to their choice to neglect its duties. Upon this principle rests that singular, but surely wise ordinance, That those should be held criminal who took no part in civil commotions. For as it is notoriously the honester men who are generally most disposed to be quiet on such occasions, nothing seems so likely to secure the constitution as compelling all men to interfere. For the same reason the legislator provided means to inforce the attendance of the people at the general assemblies. Four were regularly to be held during the presidency of each prytaneia, which, as we have seen, was for a term of thirty-five days; and each of these assem-

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blies had its stated business. That of the first was principally to approve or reject magistrates, to receive accusations of public offences presented by the Thesmothete Archons, and to hear the catalogue of fines and confiscations for public service. The second inacted laws and received petitions, relative either to the public or to private persons. The peculiar business of the third was to give audience to the ministers of forein powers. The concerns of religion were the sole object of the fourth. Often the business of those assemblies would be little interesting to the people in general; yet great inconvenience might follow from want of due attendance. When therefore the people were remiss, which seems to have been common, the magistrates shut all the city-gates except one, by which the people were permitted to pass only toward the assembly: they caused all vendibles to be removed from the markets; and they sent about their attendants holding an extended cord, prepared with a dye for the purpose, with which they marked all they overtook, and those so marked were fined. All who attended in due time received a small pay from the treasury. To keep order in so large a meeting, nine Proëdri, Foremen, were appointed by lot from the council; one from each of those tribes which were not at the time prytanes. From these nine the Epistates, Chairman, Speaker, or President of the assembly, was appointed by lot. With them sat the Nomophylaces, from their number called the Eleven, whose peculiar duty it was to be watchful over the laws, and to explain to the people the tendency of any proposals contrary to the spirit of the constitution. The Eleven had also the charge of persons imprisoned for crimes. The Prytanes had distinct powers in the assembly, which were considerable.

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The members of the Grecian democracies, sensible, from frequent experience, of the uncertain power of reason over a multitude, and of the evils liable to arise from the fluctuating and inflammable nature of popular passion, devised or admitted various precautions to prevent themselves from being led to acts to their own prejudice. It was ordained by the celebrated lawgiver Charondas, that whosoever would propose to abrogate an old law or inact a new one, should come into the assembly with a halter about his neck; and death was to follow if his proposal was rejected. Solon was not so rigid. Aware that regulations the best adapted to the circumstances of the commonwealth at one time, might not equally suit those of another, he injoined an annual revisal of the laws. If the assembly of the people declared alteration in any point necessary, a committee was to be appointed, in later times consisting of no less than a thousand persons, who, with the title of Nomothetes, were directed to consider of the alteration proper to be made. The new law being prepared by this numerous committee, five officers, called Syndics, were appointed to defend the old before the assembly; which then decided between the two. In any other manner than this it was hazardous to propose a new law at Athens. A law passed by the assembly without having been previously published as the constitution required; a law conceived in ambiguous or fallacious terms; or a law contrary to any former law, subjected the proposer to penalties. It was therefore usual to repeal the old law before a contrary new one was proposed; and the delay thus occasioned was an additional security to the constitution.

Diod. Sic. l. 12. c. 17.

The regular manner of INACTING a LAW at Athens was thus: It was the office of the council

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to give legal form to the proposed matter: but any Athenian, having anything to offer for public consideration, might address it to the Prytanes; whose duty it was to receive all petitions and information, and transmit them to the council. If approved there, it became a Probouleuma, analagous to our parliamentary bill prepared by a committee; and, being then written on a tablet, was exposed during several days for public perusal and consideration. At the next assembly it was red to the people. This being done, proclamation was made by the public crier in these terms: 'Who of those above fifty 'years old chuses to speak?' When these, if any 'were so disposed, had made their orations, the crier again proclaimed, 'Any Athenian, not disqualified by law, may speak.' The disqualifying circumstances were, having fled from their colors in battle, being deeply indebted to the commonwealth, or having been ever convicted of any flagitious crime. But the Prytanes had a general power to injoin silence to any man at discretion. The debates being ended, the crier, at the command of the Foremen, signified to the people that the business waited their determination; when suffrages were given by holding up hands. This was the ordinary manner of voting: but in some extraordinary cases, particularly when the question related to the maladministration of magistrates, votes were given privately by casting pebbles into vessels prepared by the Prytanes. The Foremen examined the suffrages, and declared the majority: the Prytanes dismissed the assembly.

We see, in the conduct of this business, numerous precautions, wisely taken, to insure regularity, and to prevent sinister management, in a form of government so intrinsically disposed to irregularity, and

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open to the arts of designing men. But Solon hoped to provide a farther and powerful weight in the balance against the uncertainty and turbulence of democratical rule, by the restoration of the court of Areiopagus. We have no account of the origin of this celebrated court, the fame of which the partiality of after-times has carried far into the fabulous ages[14]. The institutions of Draco had nearly abolished its authority and superseded its use. Solon restored its consequence, improved its regulations, and augmented its powers. How its members were before appointed we are not informed. By his institutions it was composed of those who had executed the office of archon with credit; all of whom, having passed the Euthyne, or scrutiny concerning their conduct in that high office, were admitted members of the Areiopagus. This seems to have been the only dignity of the Athenian government conferred for a longer term than one year: the Areiopagites were for life.

The power of the court of Areiopagus was very great. It is said to have been the first that ever decided upon life and death; in early times in Greece, as throughout western Europe, public justice proceeding no farther against the most atrocious criminals than the exaction of a fine. Capital offences among the Athenians were, for the most part, con-

[14] Archbishop Potter apologizes, seemingly unnecessarily, for differing from such respectable authors as Cicero and Plutarch, who call Solon the founder of the court of Areiopagus. It is not probable that Cicero and Plutarch meant to deny the existence of the court of Areiopagus before Solon; but they call him justly the founder of that court, such as it was in the flourishing times of the Athenian commonwealth. Aristotle mentions its earlier existence (1), and Demosthenes professes his ignorance of its origin (2), of which he scarcely could have been ignorant had it not been older than Solon.

(1) Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12. (2) Orat. in Aristocratem.

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nizable by this court only. It was the only court from which was constitutionally no appeal to the assembly of the people. It had authority to stop the effect of the judicial decrees of the assembly of the people itself; to annul an acquittal, or extend mercy to the condemned. It directed all issues from the public treasury. It had great power as a censorial court, punishing impiety, immorality, and all disorderly conduct; not meerly when accusations were brought; but it was the duty of the Areiopagites to watch the behavior of the citizens. Idleness was a crime of which they were to take connisance; and it was required that every citizen should annually account to them for his means of livelihood; an institution said to be derived from Egypt. The superintendence of youth was also committed to them; and it was their duty to provide by their authority that all should be educated suitably to their rank and fortune. It was the custom of this court, for judicial business, to sit only in the night, and without light. The purpose of this singularity is said to have been, that the members might be the less liable to prejudice for or against accused persons. It was for the same reason a rule that pleaders should confine themselves to simple narration of fact, and statement of the law, without any ornament of speech, or any attempt to warp the judgement by appealing to the passions of the judges. The reputation of the court of Areiopagus for wisdom and strict justice, and very remarkably for the respectable characters of its members, was long very high[15].

Herodot. l. 2. c. 177.

[15] Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 3. c. 5. s. 20. The learned dean Humphrey Prideaux (1) has summed up the principal testimonies to the great authority and high reputation of the court of Areiopagus in the following words: among which the concluding hyperbole of the great Tully is remarkable: 'Areopagitis

(1) In Marm. I. Oxon. p. 351.

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The Athenian constitution, for so small a state, was very complex. Beside the General Assembly, and the Areiopagus, there were no less than TEN COURTS OF JUDICATURE in Athens; four for criminal causes, and six for civil. In the establishment of these it was that Solon most eminently displayed both his honest zeal for the equal liberties of men, and his ability, as a legislator, to devise the most effectual means for securing them: here we see principally exemplified the ideä expressed in his celebrated answer reported among the sayings of the seven wise men: 'That,' said Solon, 'is in my opi-'nion the most perfect government, where an injury 'to any one is the concern of all.' Before that lawgiver the archons were, in most causes, supreme and sole judges. Solon directed that, in the ten courts just mentioned, causes should be decided by a body of men, like our juries, taken for the purpose from among the people; the archons only presiding in the manner of our judges, and sometimes carrying the business through the necessary steps preparatory to the determination of a jury, as in our courts of Westminster-hall. But the archons being appointed by lot, and consequently often very insufficient for such business, it was usual for each to

'a Solone commissa est legum custodia (2). Sæpe igitur injus-'titiæ et temeritati populi restitisse, sæpe eorum decreta resci-'disse, memorantur; et sine eorum approbatione nihil omnino 'majoris momenti Athenis, ante deminutam eorum per Ephial-'tem autoritatem, de republicâ unquam decernebatur (3). To-'tam igitur, ut paucis dicam, regebant rempublicam (4). Tam-'que necessarium ad illam rectè instituendam eorum semper 'videbatur consilium, ut de illis dicat Cicero Atheniensium rem-'publicam non magis posse sine Areopagi consilio, quam mun-'dum sine providentiâ Dei, administrari (5).'

(2) Plutarch in Solon. et Andocides in Orat. de Mysteriis.
(3) Demosthen. in or. con. Androtionem.
(4) Suidas in voc. Ἄρειος πάγος. & Lysias in or. de probatione Evandri. (5) M. T. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 2.

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chuse two persons of experience to assist him in his office. These, in time, became regular constitutional officers by the name of Paredri, assessors; undergoing the same probation as the archons themselves before entering on their office, and the same scrutiny at its conclusion. The manner of appointing the jurors was thus: A small pay from the treasury induced those who had leisure to offer themselves. Any Athenian, above thirty years of age, and not under any legal disqualification, delivered his name and legal description to the thesmothete archons; and these assigned the jurors to the different courts by lot. This is that department in the machine of government which ought to belong to the people at large. It is that for which they are most competent, and the security of property and equal liberty requires that they should alone possess it.

To save the inhabitants of the country from the inconvenient necessity of going to Athens for justice in cases of inferior consequence, itinerant judges, called the Forty, were appointed to go through the boroughs, with power to determine actions of assault, and controversies of property under a certain value[16].

In all the Grecian republics every freeman was bound to MILITARY SERVICE. The abundance of slaves in them all made this both practicable and necessary, which in countries without slaves would be neither. The slaves by their labor supported the

[16] This account of the Athenian constitution has been taken almost intirely from Archbishop Potter's Grecian Antiquities. Those who are desirous of investigating the subject more deeply will of course consult that valuable work, and the numerous authorities there quoted. Petit's collection of Attic Laws, with his diffuse comment on them, may perhaps then attract their attention. As the Archbishop's work is in everybody's hands, I have thought it unnecessary to repeat the authorities.

freemen in arms; and the practice of arms was indispensable for every freeman, if it were only to preserve that ascendancy over the superior number of the slaves, without which property, freedom, and life itself, would be utterly insecure. No Grecian town, therefore, was without its gymnasium, or public school of bodily exercise. Every free Athenian, at the age of eighteen, was inrolled among the military. His duty, for the first two years, was confined within the bounds of Attica. The city-guard of Athens was chiefly of youths under twenty. After that age till forty he was legally compellable to any forein service that the affairs of the commonwealth required. Rank and property made no other distinction than giving the privilege to serve on horseback; which was at the same time a privilege and a burthen; for in the Athenian, and some other of the more powerful commonwealths, every man of competent property was bound to provide and maintain a horse for public service[17].

The Greeks made a great distinction between the heavy and the light-armed foot; the former termed Hoplite, the other Psilus. The Hoplite wore that nearly complete armor, described in treating of the Homeric age: he carried a large shield, and his principal weapon was a long spear. The full set of his arms, defensive and offensive, was called the Panoply. The usual formation of this heavy foot was in a large compact body, termed Phalanx, in

See chap. 2. sect. 3. of this Hist.

[17] The Roman law was similar, and the near conformity of the old English to the Athenian is remarkable. By the statute of the 13th of Edward I. which professes not to inact novelties, but meerly to inforce the old law, all natives, between fifteen years and forty were to have arms, at least a sword and a battleaxe, and those who had fifteen pounds a year in land or forty marks in goods, were not to be without a horseman's arms.

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which the files were seldom of fewer than eight men. The Psilus, on the contrary, had very imperfect defensive armor, he carried missile weapons, and no shield. He was, therefore, incapable of ingaging in close fight with the Hoplite. Free citizens only were allowed to serve in the heavy foot; and in some of the oligarchal states, only those of higher rank, or possessing a qualification in property. The light-armed were chiefly slaves, who waited upon the Hoplites, and who alone generally did all duties of meer fatigue. They were esteemed, as soldiers, so inferior to the heavy foot, that it was usual, in reporting the numbers of Grecian armies, to reckon the heavy foot only, tho commonly attended by at least an equal number of light-armed. Upon one great occasion we read of a Lacedæmonian army, in which no less than seven slaves, all doing duty as light-armed soldiers, attended upon every Spartan Hoplite. The Lacedæmonians, and in general the Peloponnesians, would serve only as heavy foot in close fight; and in this the Thebans agreed with them; but the Athenians attributed more value to the use of missile weapons. We find bowmen, and particularly Athenian bowmen, always mentioned by Thucydides as a valuable species of troops, whose numbers he specifies upon all occasions with no less care than those of the heavy-armed; and he never confounds them with, what he sometimes calls contemptuously, the crowd of light-armed, as a body of men not less inferior in discipline than in arms. Different from all these was the Middle-armed, who, from the small shield or target which he bore distinguished from the large shield of the heavy-armed by the name of Pelta, was denominated Peltast, Targeteer. We find these mostly among the colonies, and in those small or poor democratical states which

Herodot. l. 9. c. 11.

were unable to provide the expensive armor of the Hoplite, especially those in the mountainous parts of northern Greece.

Several of the Grecian states, even of those powerful in infantry, had in early times no cavalry. But the Thessalians were almost universally horsemen; and the Bœotians cultivated early the horse-service. Of the cavalry of Athens we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, but what it was in the time of Solon we are little informed.

Democratical jealousy occasioned at Athens a very inconvenient system of Military Command. What were the military institutions of Solon we should wish to know, because he was himself a military man of large experience. Probably when he lessened the civil power of the college of archons, the military authority of the polëmarc was also abridged; for in the end we find that officer meerly a civil magistrate, having peculiar jurisdiction over the Metics, those numerous free inhabitants of Attica who were not Athenian citizens. But we are uninformed what was the military establishment of Solon's time. When afterward the Athenian wards were increased to ten, every ward elected its own military commander. Ten generals, therefore, with equal rank, commanded the forces of the Athenian commonwealth. All were not sent together on forein expeditions: but at home generally each commanded his day in turn; the ten forming a council of war to decide on emergencies. The inconveniencies of this system were often felt; and in consequence it became usual, on important occasions, by a particular decree of the people, to commit the command in chief to one person: but the appointment of ten generals from the ten tribes, with equal

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authority, remained always the established system of Athens.

The composition of Grecian armies, and the subordination of command in them, appear to have been generally very regular; but in little particulars they differed so much in different ages, and in different republics in the same age, that it is impossible now to ascertain what was at any time the exact formation of the Athenian phalanx, or indeed of that of any other republic. The account already given of the Spartan army may, however, serve to convey an ideä of the Grecian system in general. The Athenian seems to have differed from it more in names than in things. The Taxis of the Athenian service, like the Lochus of the Lacedæmonian, was analogous to our battalion, and the rank of the Taxiarc, its commander, as of the Lochage, was nearly that of our colonel. Taxis generally meant a battalion of foot, but it was also used for a squadron of horse. The troop of horse was Ilë. The Athenian Strategе, like the Lacedæmonian Polëmarc, was the general officer. The commander of a fleet was called Navarc, the commander of a trireme Trierarc; but it is observable that the Taxiarc had rank superior to the Trierarc. The distinguishing characteristic of the Spartan discipline seems to have been that it was more perfect, the divisions more numerous and better graduated, the detail more regular, the subordination more exact[18].

See chap. 4. sect. 2. of this Hist.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 21.

[18] Guischardt, the ablest modern interpreter of the antient military writers, has the following remarks in a note to his translation of Arrian's Tactics (1); 'Je doute si les interpretes 'et les traducteurs entendent les manœuvres que Xenophon 'decrit, et celles qu'il detaille, dans le troisieme livre (of the 'Anabasis) quand il parle des dispositions qu'on fit pour la 'marche des troupes. La tactique de Thucydide et de Xeno-

(1) P. 119. note q.

SECTION V.

History of Athens, from the Legislation of Solon to the Expulsion of the Peisistratids, and the first public Transaction with Persia.

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AMONG the imperfect memorials remaining of Solon, we find one very important matter authenticated, without any connecting circumstances, or any indication of times or concomitant events. Solon however was the first man of the Athenian republic, and the Athenian republic had already acquired under

'phon est differente de celle du tems d'Alexandre le grand. 'Les termes qui designoient les corps n'etoient plus les memes, 'et il y eut une autre disposition de sections. Faute d'y donner 'attention on ne peut que s'embrouiller.' It may be proper to add here the observation that the term Λόχος, which with the Lacedæmonians signified a body of men composed of many files (according to Thucydides generally of sixty-four) (2) among the later Greeks was synonymous with εἶχος, and was the more common word of the two to express simply a file (3). Accordingly the term Λοχαγὸς, which with the Lacedæmonians was the title of an officer of considerable rank, whose command was of above five hundred men, with the later Greeks meant no more than the fileleader, a common soldier. The term Ενωμοτία, originally peculiar to the Lacedæmonians, and signifying a body, generally of thirty-two men, formed in four files, was also adopted by the later Greeks to signify a division of their λόχος or file, perhaps commonly of not more than four men. See Arrian. Tact. p. 20. Xenophon also seems to use the word λόχος for a file (4). Yet Euripides gives the title of Λοχαγὸς to the seven chiefs before Thebes, and of Λόχος to the division which each commanded, and to the opposing divisions of the Theban army. Phœniss. v. 124, 150, 759, 760, and 1157. Xenophon also, in his Anabasis, uses the terms Λόχος and Λοχαγὸς in the Lacedæmonian sense, or nearly so. The Λοχαγοὶ were next in rank to the Στραλῆγοὶ, generals. The force of the λόχος, in an army so irregularly composed, might differ greatly. We find in one place a hundred (5), and in another only fifty (6), men mentioned as actually composing the Lochus, but we are not assured that those numbers were the complement.

(2) Thucyd. l. 5. c. 68.
(3) Arrian. Tact. p. 18 and 20. ed. Amstel. & Lipz. 1750.
(4) Cyrop. l. 4. (5) Anab. l. 4. c. 8. s. 13. (6) l. 1. c. 2. s. 25.

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his guidance, some steddiness of administration at home, and respect among neighboring states, when alarm arose for the temple and treasury of Delphi. The oracle there had at this time its highest fame, and, for the sanctity widely attributed to the place, its treasury was used as a depository of valuables, whence all Greece was interested in its security. What gave occasion for a war which threatened it we do not learn: but the Phocians, in whose country Delphi stood, took arms: the Amphictyons proclaimed a sacred war against them: the Athenian government took part with the Amphictyons, and Solon was appointed general of the army of the god. He was successful, and for the ability, the impartiality, and the integrity exhibited in his conduct, and the beneficial tendency of the regulations he established, he gained great credit throughout Greece.

Nevertheless Solon, with all the wisdom of his institutions, and all his popularity, could not prevent new ebullition of faction in Athens. Each party objected to that among his institutions which obviated its purpose of acquiring superiority. The legislator himself, mild and candid and impartial, was free of access to all; and confident both in the goodness of his cause, and in his own powers of argument and persuasion, he incouraged conversation upon his institutions and discussion of their merit; always professing willingness to alter whatsoever could be clearly proved capable of amendment.

Plut. Solon.

But the power, which Solon would not assume, others would contend for. The parties of the Highlands, the Lowlands, and the Coast, were still maintained, and leading men were sedulous to cultivate an interest severally in them. What one party then

approved in Solon's laws, the others of course would desire amended, and what these would be most satisfied with, the former would be most eager to alter. Himself thus involved in difficulties, and his great work of legislation in much danger, he assembled the soverein people. 'What he had done,' he said, 'he found generally approved, but on particular parts 'different opinions prevailed. For himself, he could 'not immediately satisfy his own mind, tho possibly 'improvement might be made, what the alteration 'should be. He would therefore travel into the 'countries most known for the excellence of their 'constitution and laws, and after careful examina-'tion and inquiry among other states, he might be 'better able to satisfy both himself and them. One 'thing however he would request, that till he re-'turned they should alter nothing.' Such, it is said, was the general estimation of him, and such the address with which he put this proposition, that the people bound themselves by solemn oath to change nothing of his institutions for ten years. This done, he left Athens. SECT. V. Herodot. l. 1. c. 29. Proclus in Timæum. l. 1.

The success of Solon's expedient seems to have been as great as himself could probably expect. He would hardly hope that, when he was gone, the struggle of parties contending for the first situations under his constitution would be remitted. The three parties of the Lowlands, the Highlands, and the Coast, each supported an eminent leader. Lycurgus son of Aristolaïdes, was at the head of the party of the Lowlands; Megacles, chief of the great family of the Alcmæonids, took the lead of the Coast party. He had increased the antient wealth and splendor of his house by marrying Agaristë, daughter and heiress of Cleisthenes tyrant of Sicyon; he had acquired fame by victories in the Olympian, Herodot. l. 1. c. 59. & l. 6. c. 126. & seq. Pindar. Pyth. 7.

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Pythian, and Isthmian games; and he was through these circumstances, added to his former advantages, esteemed by much the most powerful individual in Athens. Meanwhile Peisistratus, a young man of a very antient and honorable family, claiming descent from Codrus, and through him tracing their pedigree to Nestor and the Pylian kings of that very early age where Homer first takes up history, had begun to distinguish himself by his eloquence and his military talents: for wars had arisen with neighboring states, and he gained reputation, especially in taking Nisæa, the seaport of the Megarians. Recommended besides by manners singularly ingaging, he excelled all in popularity, whence he seems to have been induced to take the lead readily deferred to him by the Highlanders, or high democratical party. Thus all the three parties which divided the Athenian people had for their leaders men of the highest rank among the eupatrids or old nobility.

Herodot. l. 5. c. 65.

l. 1. c. 59.

Meanwhile Solon it is said remained ten years abroad. Of the circumstances of his travels nothing remains reported but his interview with Crœsus king of Lydia, who was accustomed to receive Greeks, and received Solon with distinction. Nor have we any satisfactory information of his measures on his return. It only appears that the ferment of factions was become violent, the leaders intent each upon his own power, their followers wedded to the interests of their several parties, and he could no longer still the storm and bring jarring minds to union. Matters were thus at a crisis, when Peisistratus came into the agora in his chariot, himself and his mules wounded. The people assembling about him, he told them 'that, as he was going into the country, 'he was waylaid by his political opponents, and with 'difficulty had escaped them, wounded, as might be

Plutarch. et Diog. Laert. vit. Solon.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 59. Plut. vit. Solon. Justin. l. 2. c. 8.

'seen. Hence they might judge whether it could 'be safe for any man any longer to be a friend to the 'poor. It was obvious that he could no longer live 'in Attica, unless they would take him under that 'protection which he implored.' Immediately Ariston, one of his partizans, proposed to decree to the friend of the people, the martyr of their cause, a guard of fifty men for the security of his person. Such a measure was probably not new; for we shall find in the sequel, other instances of it among the Grecian democracies. The popularity of Peisistratus and the indignation excited by the visible marks of ill-treatment which he bore, procured assent to the motion of Ariston, and a decree passed accordingly. The enemies of his family afterward asserted that the story was an imposture, and that the wounds were from his own hands to support it. But, gathering as we best may from remaining evidence, it seems at least equally probable that the attempt upon his life was reäl. Indeed the conjecture appears warranted by the very accounts which speak of it as fictitious. For those accounts testify that the belief of a reäl attempt to assassinate Peisistratus prevailed at Athens for a considerable time: we are not informed how the fraud was detected; and had there ever been any detection of such gross knavery, it must have gone far to ruin his credit, which, during his life, certainly never was ruined. But an actual attempt of such a kind could not fail to increase, if not the extent of his popularity, at least the zeal of his party; and thus the decree for guards might be obtained, in a manner more consistent with the forms of the Athenian constitution, and with probability, than the defective accounts of antient historians seem to imply. On this point however we can only chuse our belief in the dark. What stands ascer-

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tained is, that Peisistratus with his guards seized the citadel; that his party supported him; and that their opponents were forced, part into exile, the rest to submission. Peisistratus, as leader of the prevailing party, was of course the first man of the commonwealth, and henceforward he is called by historians tyrant of Athens.

Corn. Nep. vit. Miltiad.

The term Tyrant, among the Greeks, had a very different signification from what it bears in modern languages: it meant a citizen of a republic, who, by any means acquired sovereinty over his fellow-citizens, or the sole direction of the executive government. Many of the Grecian tyrants were men of extraordinary virtue, who used their power in strict conformity to established law, and very advantageously for the people they governed. Thus they differed widely from Tyrants in the modern acceptation of the word. But some even were raised to the dignity of Tyrant by a voluntary decree of the people themselves. Plutarch mentions particularly Tynnondas thus elected by the Eubœans, and Pittacus by the Mitylenæans; and he says the Athenians would so have elected Solon. Usurper, therefore, is not a convertible term: tho in general the Grecian tyrants were usurpers. Without a favoring party among the people, no man could rise to the tyranny: therefore a man of universal bad character, could not become a tyrant[19]. But the violence of faction among the Greeks was extreme: enormous severities were frequently practised against a defeated party: perhaps most enormous when the party prevailing was not headed by a tyrant, whose autho-

Plut. vit. Solon. Vid. et. Arist. Polit. l. 3. c. 14. et l. 5. c. 10. et Sophoc. Oedip. Tyr. v. 1. 93. 391. & 543.

[19] Ἆρ' οὐχὶ μῶρόν ἐσι σ' οὐγχειρημά σόυ,
Ἄνευ τε πλήθους καὶ φίλων τυραννίδα
Θηρᾶν, ὁ πλήθει χρήμασίν θ' ἁλίσκεται;
Sophoc. Oedip. Tyr. v. 550.

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rity or influence might inable him, and whose very interest would generally induce him, to restrain private malice, and check popular fury. A citizen, however, irregularly raised to sovereinty over his fellowcitizens, would often find himself very insecure in his exaltation. Popular favor, and party favor, which is a more confined popular favor, are extremely liable to fluctuate. But firmness is necessary to command; and even great abilities, united with fortunate circumstances, would with difficulty, in such a situation, avoid the necessity of occasional severity; weak minds and morose tempers would naturally fall into cruelty. The outcry against Tyrants, then, has been first raised by the disappointment of faction; for among the antients the appellation was arbitrarily applied; the person to whom it was given being often reälly no more than the leader of a party; and sometimes, as we have just seen, a supreme magistrate by the best of all rights, the voice of the people. But most commonly Tyrants were more or less usurpers of power which the laws of their country forbad; and too frequently severities were used, sometimes atrocious crimes perpetrated, to acquire that power, or to retain it. Hence alone the modern acceptation of the term Tyrant, from which it is necessary to distinguish the antient.

It is expressly said by Herodotus, and confirmed by all succeeding writers, that Peisistratus changed nothing in the Athenian constitution. All the laws continued in force; the assembly, council, courts of justice, and all the magistracies, remained with their constitutional powers; he himself obeyed a citation from the Areiopagus on a charge of murder. We are not assured that he even retained his guards; but it appears probable. It was usual for those call-

Herodot. l. 1. c. 59. Plutarch. Solon.

Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 12. Plutarch. Solon.

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ed Tyrants among the Greeks to have guards; and the distinguishing name of doryphori, spearbearers, became attached to them, as that of toxotæ, bowmen, to the armed attendants of the regular magistrates. But even this was not a necessary characteristic; for in the preceding age, Cypselus, who was notwithstanding always termed Tyrant of Corinth, so intirely trusted in the affection of his fellow-citizens that he never would have guards. It appears not how such a Tyrant differs, but in title, from those patriots of succeeding times, whose abilities and virtues placed them at the head of a commonwealth, without any such invidious appellation. They seem, however, thus far generally to have differed in fortune, that the history of the latter has been transmitted to posterity by those of the same faction, that of the former by those of the opposite faction[20].

Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 12.

Peisistratus was, by every account, a man singularly formed for empire. Solon himself is reported to have said of him, 'Take away only his ambition, 'cure him of his lust of reigning, and there is not a 'man more naturally disposed to every virtue, nor a 'better citizen.' We have however no satisfactory

Plutarch. Solon.

[20] Even Aristotle is scarcely always consistent in applying the term Tyrant. In one part of his Treatise on Government (1) he observes that a guard is proper both to legal kings and to tyrants; and he mentions it as a characteristical distinction between the two, that kings had subjects for guards, tyrants foreiners. Yet in the same treatise (2) he calls Cypselus Tyrant of Corinth, tho, he tells us, Cypselus never would have any guard. It appears clearly that Cypselus in fact was a demagogue, and never properly a Tyrant. But, the party in opposition to his family prevailing at length against his grandson, it became popular at Corinth to give the title of Tyrant to Cypselus himself. We find also that the bowmen attending the regular magistrates of the Athenian commonwealth were commonly foreiners, frequently Scythians. See Potter, b. 1. c. 13.

(1) b. 3. c. 14. (2) b. 5. c. 12.

account of the conduct of the great lawgiver upon this important occasion; party-spirit having mutilated and deformed the traditions of these transactions. It became the temper of succeeding times to brand the memory of Peisistratus; but the character of Solon was not to be involved in the reproach. It was therefore necessary to account for his want of authority and influence for preventing the usurpation, and to apologize for his acquiescence under it; neither of which has been adequately done. Plutarch relates some anecdotes very much to the credit of his spirit, but very little to that of his wisdom, and the influence which should have attended it: for the Athenians, it seems, were so satisfied with Peisistratus, that they utterly disregarded all their venerable legislator's remonstrances. His friends arguing with him upon his imprudent freedom of speech, and asking to what he trusted for security against the tyrant's vengeance, 'To my 'old age,' he replied. But it was by other arts than those of iniquitous revenge and cruel precaution that Peisistratus proposed to secure, as he had acquired, his preëminence. Indeed what Plutarch himself proceeds to relate, explains, in a great degree, what party-spirit had inveloped in contradiction and obscurity. Far from resenting any freedom in Solon's conduct, Peisistratus treated him with the highest respect. Nor did the venerable sage, the unblemished patriot, refuse the tyrant's friendship; but on the contrary lived with him in familiarity, and assisted him in the administration of the commonwealth. This is Plutarch's testimony. Diogenes Laertius, indeed, says that Solon, having long braved the tyrant's vengeance, finding the Athenians so lost to all sense of virtue that his utmost efforts could not excite them to attempt the recovery of their

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Plut. & Diog. Laert. vit. Solon.

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freedom, left Athens, and never returned more. He even gives letters said to have passed between the legislator and the tyrant. His account however does not bear the appearance of probability. If the letters were known to Plutarch, he despised them as forgeries; but, were they genuine, they would confirm the concurrent testimony of all antiquity to the excellence of the character of Peisistratus, and his unblameable conduct in the administration of his country's affairs.

We are not informed at what time the Athenians recovered Salamis after its second revolt to the Megarians. That Solon retook it when he was a young man, and long before he was appointed legislator, seems agreed among historians, differing as they do about other circumstances of these times. But many attribute the retaking of it to Peisistratus with Solon. This could hardly have been when Solon was a young man, nor before his legislation. We have only conjecture for supposing that it might have been after the establishment of Peisistratus in what is called his tyranny.

Plutarch reports that Solon died at the age of eighty, about two years after the elevation of Peisistratus. That usurper, if he was such, fell soon after from his high situation; expelled by the united strength of Megacles and Lycurgus. This appears fresh proof in favor of Peisistratus. He florished and injoyed Solon's friendship while Solon lived: when he had lost that excellent man's support, his opponents acquired the superiority. But the confederate rivals could not long agree. Megacles sent proposals of reconciliation to Peisistratus; and, at the same time to evince his sincerity and to insure permanence of union, offered him his daughter in marriage. Peisistratus accepted the

Herodot. l. 1. c 60.

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condition. But a majority in the Athenian assembly must be procured to favor their views, or all their private compacts would be vain. The account, given by Herodotus, of the manner in which this was effected is among the strangest in all history; yet that author lived so nearly within memory of the event, the story is so little flattering to any, and the circumstances were of so public a nature, that, tho party prejudice is likely enough to have disguised it, we scarcely can suppose it wholly unfounded. Indeed Herodotus himself calls it the simplest trick he ever heard of: yet it appears that many antient writers gave it credit, and, such as it is related to us, it might be not unaccommodated to the prejudices, the imagination, and the disposition of those on whom the united chiefs meant to work. They found, we are told, a woman of the Pæänian borough, named Phya, far exceeding common size; of low birth, and by occupation a garland-seller; but, with her extraordinary stature, well-proportioned and handsome. This woman they dressed in a complete suit of armour, with every ornament that could add grace and splendor to a fine natural figure; and seating her in a magnificent chariot, they drove into the city, heralds preceding, who proclaimed, 'O 'Athenians, with willing minds receive Peisistratus, 'whom Minerva, honoring above all men, herself 'conducts into your citadel.' The people, adds the historian, believed the woman to be the goddess, and worshipped her, and received Peisistratus, who thus recovered the tyranny.

It has been supposed by some that Strabo held the authority of Herodotus for nothing; and the treatise remains which Plutarch composed purposely to depreciate his credit. But Strabo's expression has been alleged to prove very much more than it

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meant: the geographer follows and confirms Herodotus in numberless instances; and Plutarch's treatise tends strongly to prove him impartial, without proving him in any instance false. The whole tenor, indeed, of Herodotus's narration shows him a man of great curiosity, but great modesty, and perfect honesty. Doubtful of his own opinion, and scrupulously cautious of misleading others, he thinks it his duty to relate all reports, but with express and repeated warning to his readers to use their own judgement for determining their belief[21]. Hence indeed his authority is sometimes hazardous. But generally the simplicity of his manner detects itself, and, with the assistance of circumstances collateral to the story, sufficiently indicates where he deserves credit, and where neglect[22]. The public nature of the facts may be a degree of testimony to the strange story just related. Consonancy to the characters of persons concerned will form an additional test. Both are totally wanting to the account which Herodotus proceeds to give of a domestic quarrel said to have occasioned the second expulsion of Peisistratus. No more therefore seems ascertained upon sufficient historical evidence than that Peisistratus did retire to Eretria in Eubœa; leaving the Alcmæonids, so the partizans of Megacles were called, masters of Athens.

[21] Τοῖσι μέν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι χράσθω ὅτεῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἑκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. Herod. l. 2. c. 123.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λέγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γεμὴν οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω· καὶ μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον. Herod. l. 7. c. 152.

[22] The historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has characterized Herodotus with his usual liveliness of expression: 'Herodotus,' he says, 'sometimes writes for children, and sometimes for philosophers (1).' It is really the simplicity of Herodotus that makes him often unfit for children. He has few pages from which the philosopher may not profit.

(1) Chap. 34. note 52.

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But even in banishment the consideration and influence of Peisistratus were great. He received presents and loans to a large amount from the states with which he had formed an interest during his administration of Athens. He continued to strengthen these connections; and at length assembled a military force with which, in the eleventh year of this his second banishment, he returned into Attica. Immediately he made himself master of Marathon. Hither his remaining partizans in Athens flocked to his standard; together with many other Athenians who, according to Herodotus's expression, 'preferred 'tyranny to liberty[22];' that is, it should seem, those to whom that called, by the opposite faction, the tyranny of Peisistratus, would give freedom, whereas the administration of the Alcmæonids was reäl tyranny to them; for in no other acceptation does the expression appear intelligible. The Alcmæonids, after some imprudent delay, led an army from the city. But it was ill disciplined and ill commanded. Peisistratus attacked them by surprize. The rout was immediate. With his usual presence of mind, and with a humanity the more admirable as it was then uncommon, Peisistratus immediately stopped the slaughter; and sending some horse after the fugitives, proclaimed that, 'None need fear 'who would go quietly to their homes: Peisistratus 'promised safety to their persons and property.' The known clemency and honor of the chief procured general attention to the proclamation: the principal Alcmæonids fled; and Peisistratus entered Athens unopposed.

It does not appear that even now any fundamental change was made in the Athenian constitution,

[22] Οἷσιν ἡ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίης ἦν δεσποτέρη.
Herod. l. 1. c. 62.

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or any unwarrantable step taken to secure the leader's power. As head of the prevailing party he had of course the principal influence in the government. His abilities might have given him that preëminence in any free state. A particular interest with the ruling parties in several neighboring states, especially Thebes and Argos, and a wise and liberal use of a very great private property, were the resources in which he besides mostly confided. Some measures were necessary to insure peaceable demeanor from those partizans of the Alcmæonids who had not fled. None, however, were injured in their persons; their children only were kept as hostages, and themselves sent to inhabit the iland of Naxus. This may appear arbitrary; but if compared with what we shall hereafter find usual in revolutions of Grecian cities, it was singularly mild: it was in short the resource of a party-chief, liberal and humane as experienced and clear-sighted, to insure political quiet with the least possible severity. Lygdamis, a Naxian, banished from his iland, one of the most populous and wealthy of the Ægean sea, had led a considerable body of the party banished with him, to assist Peisistratus in reëstablishing his party in Athens. Peisistratus requited the benefit by assisting Lygdamis to reëstablish himself in Naxus. The detention of the children of the Alcmæonid party then in Athens, while the fathers were sent to Naxus, gave security for the quiet of both governments.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 61.

After these first measures for insuring public peace, the administration of Peisistratus was uniformly mild and beneficial[23]. Of his forein transactions the most important recorded was the establishment of an Athenian colony at Sigeium on the Helles-

Herod. l. 5. c. 94, 95.

[23] Even Plutarch reckons Peisistratus among those who, πονηρίᾳ κτησάμενοι τυραννίδας, ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς ἀρετὴν αὐταῖς—μέτριοι καὶ δημωφελεῖς. De sera num. vind. p. 551.

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pont, and a war which followed with the Mitylenæans of Lesbos, who claimed the territory. It was upon occasion of a victory gained by the Athenians in this war, that the poet Alcæus, a principal citizen and head of a faction at Mitylenë, incurred the disgrace of quitting his arms for quicker flight. These spoils were, by the conquering Athenians, suspended as a trophy in the temple of Minerva at Sigeium.

The domestic administration of Peisistratus is universally eulogized. Many anecdotes are preserved very highly to the advantage of his character. His mildness, patience, and forbearance, were not less remarkable than his ability, activity, and intrepidity. His kindness to the poor and distressed was not a dissembled virtue, assumed for the advancement of his ambitious views, but conspicuous through his life. Many of his laws and regulations, highly advantageous to his country, became a part of its constitution. Finding an increasing disposition in the Athenians to neglect rural employments and crowd into the city, he took every method to discourage this, and promote agriculture; giving liberally from his private property; especially if by the same act he could reward merit or relieve distress. The laws against idleness, attributed by some to Solon, are also ascribed to Peisistratus. The law decreeing a public provision for the wounded in their country's service, is referred to him alone. He was eminent for love of learning and the fine arts. He is said to have founded the first public library known in the world; and the first complete collection and digestion of Homer's poems is by Cicero attributed to him. Cicero also speaks of his eloquence in the highest terms; as the first model of that sublime and polished rhetoric, in which, as in most other arts, Greece has been mistress of the

Plut. v. Solon. & Apophth. Diog. Laert. v. Solon. & al. ap. Jo. Meurs. in Pisist.

De Orat. l. 3. c. 34. & Brutus.

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world. Tho Peisistratus discouraged that increasing population of the capital which was hurtful to the country, yet he improved the town, and adorned it with splendid public buildings. He is said to have been the first who ever laid out a garden for public use. He continued to direct the administration of Athens with great wisdom, and with the esteem of all men, during life, and, at an advanced age, he died in peace.

Whatsoever the authority of Peisistratus was in the Athenian state, by whatsoever means supported, and in whatsoever way exerted, it appears certain that he never assumed the tone of royalty. On his death his influence descended to sons worthy of such a father: but so intirely was the administration of the republic still conducted according to the forms prescribed by the constitution, that, when afterward it became popular at Athens to call Peisistratus and his successors kings and tyrants, no one public act recorded who was his successor. Herodotus, who lived within memory of his cotemporaries, mentions Hippias and Hipparchus as sons of Peisistratus, without saying which was the elder or the superior. The accurate Thucydides, a few years only later, informs us that common report in his time made Hipparchus the successor; but erroneously, he says, for Hippias was the elder: yet Plato, shortly after, concurring with that common report which Thucydides had judged erroneous, reckoned Hipparchus the elder. However this might be, those brothers had certainly together the principal influence in the administration of Athens. Heads of the prevailing party, their friends only could obtain the principal magistracies[24]. But that power, which the favor of

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 20. & l. 6. c. 54.

Plat. Hipparch.

[24] Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις τοῖς κειμένοις ἐχρῆτο, πλὴν καθόσον ἀεί τινὰ ἐπεμέλοντο ὀφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 54.

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their party gave them, they used very advantageously for the public, and without asperity toward their opponents. The character of Hipparchus is transmitted to us, on no less authority than that of Plato, as one of the most perfect in history. Such were his virtues, his abilities, and his diligence, that the philosopher does not scruple to say the period of his administration was like another golden age. He was in the highest degree a friend to learning and learned men. The collection and digestion of Homer's works, by others ascribed to his father, is by Plato attributed to him. Hipparchus, however, introduced them more generally to the knowlege of the Athenians, by directing that a public recital of them should always make a part of the entertainment at the Panathenæan festival. He invited the poets Anacreon of Teos, and Simonides of Ceos, to Athens, and liberally maintained them there. Desirous of diffusing instruction as widely as possible among his fellowcountrymen, while books were yet few, and copies not easily multiplied, he caused marble terms of Mercury, with short moral sentences ingraved on the sides, to be erected in the streets and principal highways throughout Attica. Such are the anecdotes remaining of Hipparchus. Hippias was at the same time beneficially active in public business. He improved the public revenue. Under his superintendency the money of Attica was called in and recoined. He was author of a law allowing compositions in money for various burthensome offices, which before none could avoid. He prosecuted the improvements of the city begun by his father. Attic taste in every branch appears to have had its rise principally under the Peisistratids. The administration of the commonwealth was at the same time conducted, in peace, and in war,

Plat. Hipparch. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 8. c. 2.

Plat. Hipparch.

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happily at home and honorably abroad; and, according to the remarkable expression of the able and impartial Thucydides, 'Those tyrants singularly cul-'tivated wisdom and virtue[25].'

The circumstances which produced the death of Hipparchus, the expulsion of his family, and a number of great events, are, as common in conspiracies, wrapt in inexplicable mystery. The account given by Thucydides, utterly abhorrent as it is from our manners, was, we must suppose, not inconsistent with those of Athens; yet did not satisfy Plato, who relates a different story. Succeeding writers have differed from both. But there is one circumstance, of principal historical consequence, in which all agree: it was private revenge, and not any political motive, that induced Aristogeiton and Harmodius, two Athenians of middle rank, to conspire the death of Hippias and Hipparchus. For the time of executing their intention they chose the festival of Panathenæa; because, part of the ceremony consisting in a procession of armed citizens, they could then go armed without exciting suspicion. They ingaged few in their plot: nothing remains from which to suppose they had any object beyond killing the two brothers; and even for this their measures appear to have been ill-concerted. Their first attempt was intended against Hippias, while he was directing the ceremony in the Cerameicus, a place in the suburbs: but, as they approached, they saw one of their fellow-conspirators familiarly conversing with him; for, says Thucydides, Hippias was easy of access to all[26]. This excited a suspicion that they were betrayed; upon which they suddenly re-

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 54. & seq. Plat. Hipparch. Arist. Polit. l. 5. c. 10. Justin. l. 2. c. 9.

Ol. 64. 4. B. C. 512. Dodw. Ann. Thucyd.

[25] Ἐπετήδευσαν ἐπιτελείως δὴ τύραννοι οὗτοι ἀρετὴν καὶ ξύνεσιν. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 54.

[26] Ἦν δὲ πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος ὁ Ἱππίας. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 57.

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solved to go against Hipparchus, who was superintending in the Leocorion, within the city-walls. There they so far succeeded as to kill Hipparchus; but Harmodius was also killed on the spot. Aristogeiton escaped the guards who attended Hipparchus, but, being taken by the people, was not mildly treated. Such is Thucydides's expression[27].

Now it was, according to the testimony which Plato has delivered in very pointed terms, that the tyranny properly began[28]. Anger at so atrocious a deed, together with uncertainty from what quarter he might have next to fear, led Hippias immediately to severities. Many Athenians were put to death. And, this change of conduct once made, to revert to the former course was not a matter of option. Other support than the love of his fellowcountrymen became necessary, not meerly to the power, but even to the personal safety of Hippias. Looking around therefore, for means of improving his connections among forein states, he married his only daughter to Æantides, son of Hippocles tyrant of Lampsacus, who had intercourse with the Persian court, and considerable interest there. The epitaph on her monument in Lampsacus, recorded by Thucydides, and remarkable for an elegant simplicity of panegyric, not totally lost even in a literal prose translation, proves how little the title of Ty-

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 59.

[27] Οὐ ῥαδίως διεσέθη. The stories told by later writers, Seneca, Polyænus, Justin, and others, both of Aristogeiton, and of his mistress Leæna, are totally destitute of that testimony which we might expect from authors nearly cotemporary. Indeed it seems not too much to assert that they are evidently fables. See Pausanias, b. 1. c. 23.

[28] Καὶ πάντων ἂν τῶν παλαιῶν ἠκούσας ὅτι ταῦτα μόνα τὰ (τρία) ἔτη τυραννὶς ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀθήναις· τον δ' ἄλλον χρόνον ἐγγὺς τι ἓξων Ἀθηναῖοι ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Κρόνε βασιλεύονλος. Plat. Hipparch. Herodotus and Thucydides had before borne nearly the same testimony, tho in less emphatical language.

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rant was then a term of reproach: 'This dust,' it says, 'covers Archedicë, daughter of Hippias, in his 'time the first of the Greeks. Daughter, sister, 'wife, and mother of Tyrants, her mind was never 'elated to arrogance.'

Herodot. l. 5. c. 62.

The Alcmæonids, ejected by Peisistratus, were numerous and wealthy. Under these generic names the Greek writers include, with the family, often all the partizans of the family. They had settled themselves at Lypsydrium above Pæonia[29], so Herodotus describes the place, and had fortified it. But their hopes did not rest there: they were unceasingly watchful for opportunities to recover Athens. With this object in view, they omitted no means of preserving and increasing their consideration among the Grecian states. It happened that the temple of Delphi was burnt. The Amphictyons of course were to provide for the rebuilding of it. The Alcmæonids offered for a certain sum to undertake the work. A contract was in consequence made with them, by which they were bound to erect a temple, according to a plan agreed upon, of Porine stone. It was, undoubtedly, a very desirable circumstance for an exiled family, objects of persecution to the rulers of a powerful state, thus to become connected with so respectable a body as the Amphictyons. But they used the opportunity to make all Greece in a manner their debtors, and even to involve the divinity of the place in obligation to them, by exceeding their contract in the sumptuousness of the execution, particularly by building the whole front of the tem-

Herod. ut ant. Pindar. Pyth. 7.

[29] It seems probable enough that the learned and ingenious, but strangely arrogant and petulant critic Pauw, who disdains discussion and quotation, and scruples no assertion that he fancies, may be right in his conjecture, that for Pæonia should be red Pæania, which was the name of an Attic borough.

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ple of Parian marble. Another advantage, however, of still greater importance, they derived, as common report went in Herodotus's time, from ingaging in this business. They found means to corrupt the managers of the oracle: in consequence of which, whenever application, public or private, was made from Lacedæmon to the god of Delphi, the answer constantly concluded with an admonition to the Lacedæmonians to give liberty to Athens. Herodot. l. 5. c. 63.

This artifice at length had the desired effect. Tho Lacedæmon was in particular alliance with the Peisistratids, and bound to them by the sacred ties of hospitality, it was determined to invade Attica. A small force only was first sent under Anchimolius, who was defeated, and slain. But the Alcmæonid party was gaining strength: the severities of Hippias drove numbers to join them; and the Lacedæmonians, irritated by their loss and disgrace, prepared earnestly for revenge. They sent a larger army into Attica under their king Cleomenes. It was joined by the Alcmæonids. A battle was fought at Pallenium, where the tyrants were defeated, and siege was laid to Athens. Little hope however was entertained of taking the city by force, but some expectation was founded on intrigue. This also Hippias and his principal partizans dreaded, and therefore sent their children out of the garrison, to be conveyed to a place of safety. They fell into the enemy's hands; and the fathers, unable by any other means to save them, consented to surrender Athens and leave its territory in five days. Hippias retired to Sigeium on the Hellespont, which was under the government of Hegesistratus, his natural brother, who had been established there by Peisistratus. Andoc. de Myst. p. 53. Ol. 67. 3. B. C. 509. Ann. Thuc. Herod. l. 5. c. 65. & 94. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 58.

The Lacedæmonians were at this time by far the first people of Greece. Bound by their singular

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laws to a kind of monkish poverty, their ambition was unbounded. Masters of Messenia by conquest, allied from of old with Corinth, and, as the more powerful state, always taking the lead in the league, they in a great degree commanded Peloponnesus. Still they watched every opportunity to extend their power. Whenever the Grecian states had war with oneanother, or sedition within themselves, the Lacedæmonians were ready to interfere as mediators. Generally they conducted the business wisely, and with great appearance of moderation; but always having in view to extend the authority, or at least the influence of their state. One measure which they constantly practised for this purpose was to favor aristocratical power; or rather, wherever they could, to establish an oligarchy: for in almost every Grecian city there was an aristocratical or oligarchal, and a democratical faction; and a few chiefs indebted to Lacedæmon for their situation, and generally unable to retain it without her assistance, would be the readiest instruments for holding their state in what, tho termed alliance, was always a degree of subjection.

Polyb. l. 6. p. 492. Isocrat. Panathen. p. 454. &c. 490. t. 2. ed. Par. Auger.

Isocrat. Panathen. p. 460. t. 2.

This policy it was proposed to follow at Athens; and the strife of factions, which quickly arose there, gave great opportunity. By the late revolution, Cleisthenes, son of Megacles, head of the Alcmæonids, was of course the first person of the commonwealth. But he was a man not of those superior abilities necessary to hold the sway in a turbulent democracy. A party was soon formed against him under Isagoras, with whom most of the principal Athenians sided. The resource of Cleisthenes was therefore among the lower people. These being all-powerful in the general assembly, by their means he made some alterations in the constitution, favor-

Herod. l. 5. c. 66. 69.

able to his own influence: particularly he divided anew the Athenian territory and people; instead of four, making the number of tribes ten, to which he gave intirely new names. It appears from Herodotus that Cleisthenes was at this time not less tyrant of Athens than Peisistratus had been. His power was equal, but his moderation was not equal[80]. In the contests of Grecian factions the alternative was commonly victory, or exile, and sometimes death. We must not wonder, therefore, if the inferior party sometimes resorted to very harsh expedients. Isagoras and his adherents applied to Lacedæmon. Cleomenes, violent in his temper, but of considerable abilities, had more influence in the administration of his country than its kings always possessed. Immediately entering into the interest of Isagoras, he sent a herald to Athens, by whom he imperiously decreed banishment against Cleisthenes and others of the Alcmæonids, on the old pretence of inherited criminality from the sacrilegious execution of the partizans of Cylon. Cleisthenes obeyed the decree. Incouraged by such proof of the respect or dread in

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Herodot. l. 5. c. 70.

[80] Ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, πρότερον ἀπωσμένον, τότε πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἑωϋτοῦ μοίρην προσεθήκατο, τὰς φυλὰς μετωνόμασε, καὶ ἐποίησε πλείνας ἐξ ἐλασσόνων, κ. τ. ε. ἦν τε τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος πολλῷ κατυπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων. Herod. l. 5. c. 69. This honest passage gives great insight into the state of party-politics at Athens at the time, and affords a material part of the clue necessary for tracing them through following times. It is remarkably to the credit of Herodotus, and extraordinary that it should have been so little noticed, or rather so totally unnoticed, by writers who have criticized him, that whatever he has said upon that delicate and difficult subject the domestic politics of Athens, and indeed of all Greece, is perfectly consonant to the unquestionable authority of Thucydides. The two writers mutually reflect light upon oneanother: Herodotus opens the scene; and whoever will take the pains to connect his desultory yet amusing narration, will find him no unworthy forerunner of Thucydides and Xenophon, who with more art and judgement lead us to the catastrophe.

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which the Spartan power was held, Cleomenes thought the season favorable for making that change in the Athenian constitution which would suit the views of Spartan ambition. He went to Athens, attended by a small military force, and at once banished seven hundred families. Such was at this time Athenian liberty. He was then proceeding to dissolve the council of fivehundred, and to commit the whole power of the commonwealth to a new council consisting of three hundred, all partizans of Isagoras. But Athens was not so far prepared for subjection. The fivehundred both refused themselves to submit, and excited the people to opposition. The people ran to arms. Cleomenes and Isagoras, taking refuge in the citadel, were besieged there two days. On the third they surrendered, upon condition that the Lacedæmonians might depart in safety. Isagoras went with them; but many Athenians of his party were executed. Cleisthenes and the exiled families immediately returned.

Herodot. l. 5. c. 72. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 126.

Herodot. & Thucyd. ut sup. & Aristoph. Lysist. v. 273.

Those who now took the lead in the Athenian government, tho without opposition at home, were in extreme apprehension of the consequences of such a breach with Lacedæmon. At a loss for allies within Greece capable of giving them effectual support, they sent ambassadors to Sardis to endevor to form a connection with Artaphernes the Persian satrap. Hitherto there had been scarcely any communication between any branch of the vast empire of Persia and the Europeän Greeks. The satrap received the deputies of a little unheard-of republic with that haughtiness which might be expected. Having admitted them to audience, he asked who they were, and from what part of the world they came, that they desired alliance with the Persians? Being informed, he answered them very shortly,

Herodot. l. 5. c. 78.

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'That if they would give earth and water to king 'Darius,' the usual ceremony in acknowleging subjection, 'they might be received into alliance; other-'wise they must depart.' The ambassadors, considering only the immediate danger of their country, consented to those humiliating terms. Such was the first public transaction between Greece and Persia.

CHAPTER VI.

View of the Eastern Nations politically connected with Greece.

SECTION I.

Of Lydia: Asiatic Grecian Commonwealths: Scythia: Assyria: Persia. Reduction of the Asian Greeks under the Persian Dominion by Cyrus.

CHAP. VI.

As the affairs of Greece now become essentially connected with those of that powerful empire which, by rapid conquest, had united under one dominion almost the whole of the civilized world, it will be necessary to take a short survey of the state of things in the surrounding nations; and particularly in those of the vast continent of Asia, whose transactions with the little country of Greece furnish some of the most remarkable and important events in the political history of mankind.

We have already observed that riches and arts were earlier known in Asia Minor than in Greece. Before the Trojan war, that country whence Pelops came, by some called Phrygia, by others Lydia, was famed among the Greeks for wealth. In Lydia, the mountain Tmolus antiently abounded with gold, which the torrent-river Pactolus brought down from the craggy summits, so that a rude people might easily collect it. Hence, at the foot of Tmolus, on

Herodot. l. 1. c. 93. Strabo, l. 13. p. 265.

the banks of the Pactolus, the town of Sardis early rose to importance, and became the capital of Lydia. Gold, to which all nations of the old world, even in their rudest ages, seem almost instinctively to have attributed a mysterious value, while the original Americans, of any people known to have long possessed it, have alone given it an estimation nearly proportioned to its intrinsic worth; gold has not always those pernicious effects which speculative philosophers have been fond of attributing to it. Gold was, to the Lydians, the spring of industry, of knowlege, we may add of virtue, if it be truly said that virtue consists in action. Undoubtedly it was also the spring of vice; for so things are constituted in this world, that there almost only can be active virtue where is vice. The Lydians, as we have heretofore had occasion to remark, appear to have derived their origin from the same hords who peopled Greece. Their laws and manners, to the time of Herodotus, were almost the same with those of the Greeks; and that historian mentions some circumstances in the progress of society in which they preceded neighboring nations. They were the first people known to the Greeks to have exercised retail trades[1], and the first who struck coins of gold and silver. Coins are singularly adapted to convey

Herod. l. 1. c. 35. 74. 93. & 94.

[1] Πρῶτοι Κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο· Herod. l. 1. c. 94. We must not expect perfect correspondence, in terms of this kind, between different languages, in distant countries, and widely distant ages: but we find Κάπηλος very nearly defined, by Plato, a Shopkeeper (1). He is put in opposition to the Ἔμπορος, who travelled to deal, and who, according to the extent of his dealings, would be, in modern terms, either a merchant or a pedlar. In another place Plato distinguishes the Κάπηλος, as one who bought to sell, from the αὐτοπωλὸς, who sold his own manufacture or produce (2).

(1) Plat. de Rep. t. 2. p. 371. (2) Plat. de Rep. t. 2. p. 260.

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to late ages and distant countries exact information of the progress of art and fine taste: and the extant coins of the Lydian kings, the oldest known to exist, exhibit remarkable proofs of the elegant taste and excellent workmanship of their early era.

In all countries the arts of peace and war have florished together. While the people of Lydia through industry were growing rich, the monarchs extended their dominion eastward as far as the river Halys. The small republics of the Grecian colonies could not be safe in the neighborhood of such a potentate. What accidental weakness of the Asiatic princes had allowed those adventurers, mostly driven by violence from their settlements in Greece, to appropriate a territory on the Asiatic shore, four hundred miles in length, eminent for richness of soil and beauty of climate, so little were letters known or practised and so deficient tradition, we are wholly without information. Those adventurers however were of the most polished Greeks of their age, Ionians from Athens, Æolians from Thebes and from the capitals of the Pelopid and Neleid kings. They knew how to profit from a rich settlement acquired. The improvements of Lydia would become theirs. Alone possessing ports and shipping, maritime commerce was exclusively theirs. Accordingly we find that, in science and the fine arts, Ionia became the mistress of Greece; and in extent of maritime communication, the colonies far exceeded the mother-country. But, while florishing each by itself, the Asiatic Grecian states, jealous of their separate independency, had scarcely any political connection with the mother-country, and little with one another; tho some of them maintained intimate friendly intercourse with the distant sister-colonies of Sicily and Italy. The several cities, indeed, of each people,

Æolian, Ionian, and Dorian, maintained a union in religion: they had their common sacrifices. This would probably involve some political connection, and at least it would hold means always ready for forming political connection. The Ionians, with their Panionian sacrifice, had a meeting of deputies from their cities for common consultation concerning their political interests. But even the Panionian assembly, being but a congress of ministers from independent states, wanted authority to inforce its own resolutions, and the political connection produced by it remained very imperfect. SECT. I.

The first attempt of a Lydian monarch to reduce the Grecian states, of which we have any information, was under Gyges, supposed to have reigned soon after the age of Lycurgus. Deficient as their political connection was, he found among them probably a knowlege of war, as well as a republican spirit of bravery, which the Asiatics in general did not possess; for he failed in his attempts upon Miletus and Smyrna, but he took Colophon. The weight, however, of the Lydian kingdom, perseveringly exerted, was too great for any of those little commonwealths to resist: Ardyës, son of Gyges, took Miletus and Prienë. Herodot. l. 1. c. 14.

There are some parts of the world whose inhabitants, from earliest history, have differed from all others in circumstances and manners, which they have preserved unaltered through hundreds of generations. Of these the people of that vast country called SCYTHIA by the Greeks, and by the moderns Tartary, are particularly remarkable. The description that Justin, after Trogus Pompeius, gives of the Scythians, is equally just, as far as our knowlege goes, for all former and for all following ages. They wander over, rather than possess, a country of immense

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Justin. l. 2. c. 2. Herod. l. 4. Strab. l. 8.

extent. Exercising no tillage, they claim no property in land: they hold in abhorrence and scorn the confinement of a fixed habitation; roaming perpetually, with their families and herds, from pasture to pasture over their boundless wilderness. In this vagabond life, not to steal from one another is almost their only law. Their desires commonly go no farther than for food, which their herds supply, and for clothing, which the extreme cold of their climate makes peculiarly necessary. For the whole extent of their country being far removed from the balmy influence of the ocean; and, tho mostly plain, yet of extraordinary height above the level of the ocean; being bounded even on the south by mountains mostly covered with snow, while the tract northward is a continent of snow, their winters are of a severity unknown under the same latitude in other parts of the globe[2].—Nature has therefore supplied the brute animals of those regions with a peculiar warmth of covering. To man is only given ability to wrest such boons from the inferior creation. The ingenuity of the antient Scythians went thus far. Necessity drove them to the use of those furs for clothing which are become so extensively

[2] Herodotus's exact acquaintance with the Scythian climate, and his lively description of it, both deserve notice: Δυσχείμερος δὲ ἄυτη ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρη οὕτω δὴ τί ἐστι· ἔνθα τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος ὄιος γίνεται χρυμὸς, ἐν τοῖσι ὕδωρ ἐχχέας, πηλὸν οὐ ποιήσεις· πῦρ δὲ ἀναχαίων ποιήσεις πηλὸν. Ἡ δὲ θάλασσα πήγνυται, καὶ βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυσάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρου Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται, καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας ἐπελαύνουσι πέρην ἐς τοὺς Σινδούς. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἀπὸ μῆνας διατελέει χειμὼν ἐὼν· τοὺς δ' ἑπτὰ οἴκοθεν τέσσερας ψύχεα αὐτόθι ἐξί. κ. τ. ε. Herodot. l. 4. c. 28. See also Strabo, b. 7. p. 307. In the mild climate of our own iland we do not readily learn to conceive the severity of continental winters, even in the most desirable latitudes, where the surface is elevated and the ocean distant. All modern accounts of the countries around the Euxine testify to the justness of Herodotus's description of the Scythian winter.

an article of useless, perhaps often pernicious luxury in milder climates[3]. Such a country, with such inhabitants, would little invite the ambition of others. But the Scythians, instinctively fond of wandering, were likely to be inspired with a desire to wander among the possessions of their more settled neighbors. And tho their manner of life is little above that of brutes, yet it has always been that of gregarious brutes: they migrate in such multitudes that their progression is scarcely resistible. War was moreover singularly their delight; and mercy and human kindness were totally alien to their warfare. Scalping was practised by them nearly as by the American Indians: none could claim his share of plunder who had not an enemy's head to present to his chief. The scalp then became the warrior's favorite ornament for his own person, and that of his horse: the number he possessed decided his reputation and his rank. Without this testimonial of military merit none could be admitted to their principal feasts; where, as among our Scandinavian ancestors, probably their descendants, the skulls of slain enemies were the drinking-cups. It is perhaps well for the historian's credit that we are assured, by unquestionable testimony, of the existence of such practices among later people[4].

Herod. l. 4. c. 64, 65.

[3] England is perhaps, of all countries in the northern temperate zone, that in which furs are least used. In few parts of the world indeed is precaution of any kind against changes in the atmosphere less known, because in few less necessary; the nowhere are those changes more the subject of conversation and complaint; which seems to arise from a peculiar fondness for exercise in the air and a consequent impatience under confinement within-doors, which the people of some other parts of Europe not only bear but like.

[4] This sketch, of so singular a portion of mankind, was penned before the author had seen the finished picture of the same people, by the masterly hand of the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. It has been observed by more than

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Thrice, in very early times, these ferocious vagabonds are said to have overrun Asia. But their irruptions had more the effect of a swarm of locusts, an inundation, or a hurricane, than of an expedition devised and conducted by the reason of men. While Ardyës reigned in Lydia there happened a migration from those rugged climates. A Scythian hord drove before them a Cimmerian hord, apparently of not very dissimilar manners. The conquerors, pursuing eastward, entered Media, and overwhelmed that rich and powerful kingdom. The Cimmerians had avoided them by taking a more westerly course; and, in their flight, little less terrible to the nations among whom they came, than the Scythians had been to themselves, they overran Asia Minor. Sardis fell their prey; the citadel only withstanding them. Most of the Grecian cities suffered. But the plague was transitory. It came, it destroyed, it vanished; and things resumed nearly their former situation.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 15. & l. 4. c. 1.

Ol. 36. 2. B. C. 635. N.

Ol. 39. 1. B. C. 624. B.

The power of the Lydian monarchy was however shaken. Some of the Grecian states, Miletus particularly, appear to have recovered independency;

one great historian, that every book should be as complete as possible within itself, and should never refer for anything material to other books (1). Sensible of the truth of this remark, the author has found himself under peculiar difficulty in the necessity of giving some account of the Scythians. He scrupled the transcription of a long passage from a history not only in the hands, but fresh in the memory of all Europe. The whole would indeed have been beyond his purpose; the selection of parts hazardous, and any appearance of a competition preposterous. He has therefore risked his original sketch, principally translated from Justin and Herodotus, which he hopes will be found not absolutely incompetent for its purpose; and it will certainly be imputed as credit to those two writers, that this sketch, as far as it goes, accords very completely with the elaborate account of the historian first mentioned, who so singularly unites the liveliest manner with the most laborious diligence.

(1) Hume's Hist. of England, Appendix II. and Padre de Paolo, Hist. Conc. Trid.

SECT. I.

for we find Sadyattes, son of Ardyës, toward the end of his reign, ingaged in war with the Milesians. It was continued or renewed by his son Halyattes. Miletus was then the richest and most populous of the Asiatic Grecian cities. None of the greater powers having directed their attention to maritime affairs, the naval force of the little Grecian states gave them consequence; and that of Miletus was superior to any other. The Lydian monarch had none to oppose to it, except what he might command from his subject Greeks. The Milesians therefore commanding the sea, a blockade by land was little efficacious; and any other mode of siege was at that time little known. The manner therefore in which the Lydian monarch carried on the war was thus. Marching into the Milesian territory a little before harvest, with all military pomp, to the sound of various musical instruments, he cut down all the corn, and destroyed all the vines, olives, and other valuable trees; sparing the buildings, that the people might have the better means of cultivating fresh harvests for him to carry off or destroy. The Milesians, venturing to take the field for the protection of their property, suffered two considerable defeats. The war however continued eleven years, from its commencement under Sadyattes, and the Milesians still obstinately defended themselves. In the twelfth year, Halyattes, being seized with a dangerous illness, was agitated with superstitious fear on account of the accidental burning of a temple of

Ol. 50. [5] B. C. 580. N. Ol. 39. 4. B. C. 621. B.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 17.

[5] The space of only three years, allowed by Blair, between the Scythian irruption and the Milesian war, is inconsistent with the narration of Herodotus. Newton has not marked the date of the Milesian war; but according to other circumstances which he has marked, it might have begun about the fiftieth Olympiad, where Herodotus's account would nearly bring it.

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Minerva by his ravaging troops; and the Milesians, making advantage of this circumstance, procured a peace.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 26. & seq.

Crœsus son of Halyattes still advanced the power of the Lydian monarchy. He made all the Asian Greeks tributary; and, excepting Lycia and Cilicia, was master of the whole of Asia Minor, as far as the Halys. He was an able and virtuous prince, not less generally beloved than feared; so that the Asian Greeks, finding their condition far from worse for their subjection to such a monarch, who allowed them the injoyment of their own laws and constitution, with the whole internal regulation of their little commonwealths, became attached to him as subjects to their legal hereditary soverein[6]. There had

[6] This appears from the tenor of Herodotus's narration, and receives confirmation from Thucydides, who says that the Ionians florished greatly and were very powerful till they were reduced by Cyrus, after he had conquered Crœsus (1). Pindar's concise but emphatical eulogy speaks also strongly to the same purpose. The passage is remarkable:

\- - - - - Ὀπισθόμβροτον αὔχημα δόξας
Οἷον ἀοιγομένων ἀνδρῶν δίαιταν μανύσει,
Καὶ λογίοις καὶ ἀοιδοῖς·
ΟΥ' ΦΘΙΝΕΙ ΚΡΟΙΣΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΦΡΩΝ ΑΡΕΤΑ.
Τὸν δε ταύρῳ χαλκέῳ καυτῆρα, νηλέα νόον,
Ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει πάντᾶ φάτις·
Οὐδέ μιν φόρμιγγες ὑποδρόφιαι κοινωνίαν
Μαλβακὰν παίδων ἁδροισι δέχονται.
Εὖ δὲ καθεῖν το πρῶτον ἄβλων·
Εὖ δ' ἀκούσιν δευτέρα μοῖρ'.
Ἀμφοτέροισι δ' ἀνὴρ
Ὅς' ἂν ἐγκύρσῃ καὶ ἕλῃ,
Στέφανον ὕψιον δέδεκται. Pindar. Pyth. I.

When in the mouldering urn the monarch lies,
His fame in lively characters remains;
Or grave'd in monumental histories,
Or deck'd and painted in Aonian strains.
Thus fresh and fragrant and immortal blooms
The virtue, Crœsus, of thy gentle mind:
While fate to infamy and hatred dooms
Sicilia's tyrant, scorn of human kind;

(1) Thucyd. l. 1. c. 16.

long been intercourse between Lydia and the continent of Greece. Sardis, as a mart, was an object for all nations within reach. Superstition chiefly led the Lydians to Greece: the reputation of the Delphian oracle was high among them, and many presents from Lydian monarchs were, in the time of Herodotus, principal ornaments of its shrine. Gyges king of Lydia, that writer says, was the first foreiner, excepting only Midas, son of Gordias king of Phrygia, who ever sent a present thither. But it has been already mentioned as matter, at least, for doubt, whether the treasures sent to be placed under the protection of the god, at Delphi and other temples, were intended as gifts. In after-times we shall find that the most respected shrines were resorted to as banks where the reputed sanctity of the place afforded security for treasures deposited, which could not be found elsewhere, and whence those treasures might be drawn at the depositor's pleasure, tho probably paying largely for the benefit. The wealth that Crœsus sent to Delphi consisted in large part of what are called bricks, or tiles, in modern phrase

SECT. I.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 50.

Whose ruthless bosom swell'd with cruel pride,
When in his brazen bull, the broiling wretches died.
Him therefore nor in sweet society
The generous youth conversing ever name,
Nor with the harp's delightful melody
Mingle his odious inharmonious fame.
The first, the greatest bliss on man conferr'd,
Is in the acts of virtue to excel;
The second, to obtain their high reward,
The soul exalting praise of doing well.
Who both these lots attains is blest indeed,
Since fortune here below can give no richer meed.
WEST'S Translation.

In Pindar's youth the fame of Crœsus was recent. The selection of him therefore as an example of a virtuous and beneficent prince, fittest to be named in opposition to a detested tyrant, is strong testimony.

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ingots of gold. Crœsus appears to have been partial to the Greeks, and he incouraged men of genius and learning of that nation in his court[7]. But he was not without a considerable share of ambition. Being master of the whole western coast of Asia Minor, with all its shipping, he had the means of becoming a more formidable naval power than had yet been known in the world. Already the ilands trembled for their independency; and Greece itself was not without apprehension, when events in another quarter called all the attention of the Lydian monarch.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 29.

l. 1. c. 27.

Tho accounts of the countries about the river Euphrates go farther into antiquity than those of any other upon earth, yet we scarcely know when there was not a large and polished empire there. Of other countries which have possessed science, arts, and letters, we learn whence science, arts, and particularly whence letters have come to them; but no trace appears of their existence in any other country prior to their florishing in CHALDÆA. However also the wonders of BABYLON may have been exaggerated by some writers, we have yet sufficient testimony to its having been a city of extraordinary magnitude, population, wealth, and magnificence, when scarcely elsewhere in the world a city existed. The ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, of which it was the metropolis, by a revolt of the northern provinces became divided. Babylon remained the capital of the southern part, still called Assyria: the northern formed an exten-

[7] The first three lines of the quotation from Pindar in the foregoing note, being introductory to the mention of Crœsus, appear to indicate that the Grecian poets, as well as the sophists mentioned by Herodotus, were not without a due share of that prince's favor; if indeed the historian did not mean to include poets under the term sophist. It should follow that, if pure Greek was not the common language of Sardis, it was however familiarly understood in Crœsus's court.

sive kingdom under the name of MEDIA. To the south of Media, and east of Assyria, was a mountainous tract called PERSIA; so inferior to the surrounding countries in riches and populousness, that hitherto it had been of little weight or consideration. But, during the reign of Crœsus in Lydia, a prince of extraordinary abilities, named Cyrus, arose among the Persians. Those hardy mountaineers had the same superiority over the enervated inhabitants of the rich Asiatic plains, which is still observed in the sultry climates of the east; tho, in Europe, the difference, in strength and courage, between the inhabitants of mountains and of plains, is only to be found in the imagination of speculative writers. Cyrus became master of Media, according to some accounts by inheritance from his mother, according to others by arms. He was successful in war against Assyria, and threatened the intire conquest of that empire. Crœsus was alarmed at his growing power and fame. It was obvious policy to support the Assyrian monarch, and endevor to hold the balance between him and the Persian. Yet either the attempt or the neglect might be fatal; and human wisdom could only decide upon the probability. Anxious for surer grounds, and full of the superstition of his age, he tried all the more celebrated oracles known to the Greeks for advice and information. He was so liberal in presents to Delphi, that the Delphians passed a decree granting to the king and people of Lydia precedency in the consultation of the oracle[8], with privilege for any Lydian to become at pleasure a Delphian citizen. Such preference to a foreiner, in a business which must have been un-

Orme's Hist. of Indostan.

[8] Προμαντήϊην καὶ ἀγγελίην καὶ προεδρίην. Herod. l. 1. c. 54. What precisely these privileges and honors were, may be difficult to determine.

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der the controul of the Amphictyonic council, proves strongly the respect of the Greeks for Crœsus, and perhaps their fear of him. Yet the managers of the oracle, always provident of its reputation, could by no means be induced to prophesy any success to him in a war with Persia. To all his interrogatories on the subject they gave answers so dubious and elusive, that whatsoever part he might take, and whatsoever might be the event, the credit of the oracle would be safe. The unhappy prince, after much hesitation, at length determined upon war. He led his army into those provinces beyond the river Halys which had formed part of the Median monarchy. Cyrus immediately quitted his Assyrian foes to march against Crœsus. One great battle decided the fate of Lydia. Cyrus was victorious, and marching to Sardis, made Crœsus prisoner, and his kingdom a province of the Persian empire.

Ol. 57. 1. B. C. 554. N.

Ol. 58. 1. B. C. 548. B.

Herod. l. 1. c. 141.

While the issue of the war remained yet uncertain, Cyrus had endevored to gain the Grecian cities in Asia Minor; but they adhered to their ingagements with the Lydian king. The full success therefore of the Persian arms could not but be highly alarming to them. Immediately the Ionians sent to offer submission, upon the same terms on which they had been subject to Crœsus. The Milesians alone were admitted to so much favor. The others were told that, having refused those terms when offered, they must abide the consequences. Such a reply from such a potentate was indeed dreadful. Each city set to repair and improve its fortifications, and the Panionian assembly was summoned. But a comparison of their own force with that of the Persian monarchy affording no reasonable hope that they should of themselves be able to withstand the threatened danger, in this extremity they turned

their thoughts to their parent country; tho with little expectation of finding there either disposition or ability to protect them. An embassy was sent to Lacedæmon, as the leading state of Greece. But it was never the character of the Spartan government to be forward in hazardous enterprize. The Ionians could obtain no promise of assistance; but some Spartans were appointed to accompany them in their return, to inquire into the truth of the alarming accounts given of the Persian power, and endevor to learn the farther designs of the conquering monarch. The Spartan ministers went to the Persian court at Sardis; and the account given, with his usual simplicity, by Herodotus, of what passed at an audience to which Cyrus admitted them, marks just the contempt which might be expected, in the conqueror of Asia, for the little republics of Greece. A republic, indeed, was probably a new ideä to him. He told the Spartans, 'That he could not be afraid 'of people who had squares in the middle of their 'towns, in which they met to swear and deceive one 'another;' alluding to the agora, which was, in most of the Grecian cities, the place equally for the common market and the general assembly: and he concluded with a threat, 'That it might come to their 'turn to lament their own subjection, and they had 'better not interfere in his concerns with the Ioni-'ans.' The war with Assyria was an object of other importance. Marching therefore himself eastward, he left the Greeks to his lieutenants.

SECT. I.

Herod. l. 1. c. 152, 153.

It was a practice of this great prince to leave a considerable share in the administration of conquered countries in the hands of natives. He committed a high office at Sardis to Pactyas, a Lydian, who took a very early opportunity to show himself unworthy of the trust reposed in him. Cyrus was scarcely

l. 3. c. 15.

l. 1. c. 153.

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gone, when he managed a revolt, became master of the town at Sardis, and besieged the Persian governor in the citadel. Cyrus did not think even this a circumstance to require the intermission of his march against Assyria. He detached a part only of his army against the rebel, who appears to have been very unequal to the greatness of his attempt; for, according to Herodotus, without any farther effort, he fled to the Grecian town of Cuma, where probably he had claims of hospitality. The Persian general sent to demand him. The Cumæans, between fear of the vengeance of so mighty a potentate, and unwillingness to incur the disgrace of betraying a received suppliant, which they expected would also draw on them the anger of the gods, were greatly at a loss. The neighboring oracle of Apollo at Branchidæ, then in high repute among the Asian Greeks, was their resource. This story, also related by Herodotus with a simplicity evincing truth, while it characterizes both the religion and the politics of the times, affords a remarkable specimen of the subjects upon which oracles were consulted, and of the subterfuges of the managers to preserve their credit. The question of the Cumæans was not a little distressing. To advise any opposition to the Persian power would have put the credit of the oracle to the highest risk. But to betray an admitted suppliant was held among the Greeks, in no less a measure, offensive to the gods and infamous among men. This, however, the oracle unwarily directed. Aristodicus, a man eminent among the citizens of Cuma, whether influenced by party-views, or by friendship for Pactyas, or by honest indignation at the unworthy deed intended by his fellowcitizens, publicly declared his doubt of the answer reported from the oracle, and insisted that the prayer should be repeat-

Herodot. l. 1. c. 156. & seq.

ed to the god, and persons of unquestionable credit commissioned to bring the response. He prevailed, and was himself appointed of the number. The answer was still as before, That the Cumæans should deliver up Pactyas. Aristodicus, not thus satisfied, searching around the temple, purposely disturbed some nests of sparrows and other birds, which in that situation, according to the tenets of Grecian superstition, were under the particular protection of the deïty of the place. A voice was presently heard from the inmost recess of the building, 'O most unholy of men! how darest thou thus violate my suppliants!' Aristodicus replied, 'O soverein power! dost thou thus protect thy suppliants, yet commandest the Cumæans to give up their suppliant?' 'Yes,' returned the voice, 'I command it: that so you, the sooner perishing, may no more consult oracles about betraying suppliants.' This reply answered the purpose both of the oracle and of Aristodicus; but not so of the Cumæans. The credit of the oracle, not only for truth, but in some measure for justice also, was saved; but the Cumæans, fearing equal destruction whether they betrayed Pactyas or attempted his protection, sought to ávoid the danger by a middle course, and furnished him with means of escaping to Mitylenë in Lesbos. There it was hoped he might be safe: for as the Persians were utterly unconversant in marine affairs, and no maritime state was yet added to their dominion, the Grecian ilands were thought in no immediate danger. But the Mitylenæans, equally regardless of their honor, and fearless of divine vengeance, only considered how they might most profit by the conjuncture. They entered into a negotiation to deliver up Pactyas for a stipulated price. His Cumæan friends, informed of this, farther assisted him with

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means of escaping to Chios. But the Chians, no less infamously mercenary than the Mitylenæans, for a small tract of land on the continent over against their iland, sold him to the Persian; and, to execute their agreement, scrupled not to violate the sanctuary of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of their state, whither he had fled as a sure asylum.

The Persian general, meanwhile, overran the rich vales of the Mæander and of Magnesia, and gave the plunder to his soldiers. He took the town of Priene, and sold all the inhabitants for slaves. He was proceeding thus violently to execute his commission for subduing the Grecian possessions, when sickness stopped his course, and death soon followed. Harpagus, his successor in command, began his administration with the siege of Phocæa. The Phocæans had been remarkable for their early and successful application to maritime affairs. They, first of the Greeks, undertook long voyages, and made known to their fellowcountrymen the shores of the Adriatic, and the coasts of Tuscany and Spain. Becoming rich by commerce, they had fortified their town, which was large, in a manner superior to what was then common. But the Persian force, directed by the skill of Harpagus, was too great for them to resist. This general made his approaches in a method analogous to that now in use; with just the difference which the fortification and arms of his age required. No weapons of that time could prevent him from breaking ground near the town ditch: to his trenches he added a lofty rampart; and, as he approached, he filled the ditch and then formed a mound against the town wall, upon which his people might mount for storming. The Phocæans, hard pressed, obtained a truce for a day, upon pretence of considering about a capitulation. They made use

Herodot. l. 1. c. 161.

l. 1. c. 163.

Ol. 60. 2. B. C. 539.

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of it for flight: putting their families and most valuable effects aboard their vessels, they escaped to Chios. The Persian took possession of the empty town.

All that the Phocæans wanted was a seaport and security: the rest their activity would supply. They desired, therefore, to buy the little ilands called Œnussæ, lying between Chios and the main; but the Chians, jealous of an interference in trade, refused to sell them. About twenty years before, the Phocæans had founded the town of Alalia, in Corsica, and thither they determined to direct their course. But, in their way, actuated by that spirit of revenge which naturally imbittered war, when death, slavery, or expatriation were the only alternatives to the vanquished, they suddenly turned upon Phocæa; and probably finding the Persian garrison both weak and unprepared, they put the whole to the sword, tho without any hope or thought of holding the place. After this useless massacre, imprecating solemn curses on any of their number who should desert their expedition, and all taking an oath never to return to Phocæa, they steered for Corsica. More than half, notwithstanding, stimulated by regret for their native country, and dread of their new undertaking, returned. How they made their peace with the Persian we are not informed. Of the rest, after various chances, a part settled the town of Hyela, afterward called Helea, and Velia, in Italy. But the fairer fortune of the larger part seems not to have been known in Greece in Herodotus's time: they founded Massilia, now Marseille, in Gaul. A barren territory there gave small temptation for the rapine of neighboring barbarians. A port singularly commodious for vessels adapted to the navigation of the Mediterranean, afforded that opportunity,

Herodot. l. 1. c. 163. & Strabo, l. 6. p. 532. Pausan. l. 10. c. 8. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13. Isocr. Archid. p. 68. t. 2.

Strabo, l. 4. p. 179.

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which the Greeks desired, for communication with all the world, beyond the ability of barbarians to interrupt. Thus Massilia became a rich and powerful maritime commonwealth. Its naval victory over the Carthaginians, reported by Thucydides, proves its early strength. The Grecian names Antipolis, Nicæa, Monœcus (now Antibes, Nizza or Nice, and Monaco), eastward, and Agatha (now Agde), westward in Gaul, and Rhodus, Aphrodision, Emporeion, Hemeroscopeion in Spain, mark the extent of its maritime dependencies. Rhodus, now Roses in Catalonia, founded by Rhodians, was brought under the dominion of the Massilians. Hemeroscopeion received afterward from the Romans the name of Dianium. The neglect of the admirable harbor of Toulon, with the labors afterward of the Romans to make Forum Julii, now Frejus, a naval arsenal, mark the difference between antient and modern navigation.

Thucyd. ubi sup. Strab. l. 4. p. 180. 184.

l. 3. p. 159.

l. 14. p. 654.

The Teians, next attacked by Harpagus, followed the example of Phocæa. Sailing to Thrace, they founded the town of Abdera. The other Asian Greeks, finding their walls would not inable them singly to resist the Persian power, resolved together to try the event of a battle. Being defeated, they submitted to the conqueror on his own terms, which seem to have been milder than might have been expected from the former Persian general. Harpagus proceeded from Ionia through Lycia into Caria, and brought the whole of Asia Minor under the Persian dominion.

Ol. 60. 3. B.C. 538. N. and B.

Cyrus, meanwhile, was no less successful in greater enterprize in Upper Asia. By that siege of Babylon, famous equally in profane and sacred history, he became master of Assyria. Having thus acquired a dominion far more extensive than had before been

known in the world, the wisdom of his remaining years was employed to model the many nations which owned subjection to him into one regular empire. We are, however, far from having that certain and complete information concerning the transactions of this great prince, either in war or peace, that we might wish: but upon the whole it appears that his laws and political institutions were directed by a superiority of genius equal to that which guided him to conquest; and, what principally makes the want of an authentic history of him to be regretted, he stands singular among the many conquerors by whom it has been the fate of that large and rich portion of the world to be overrun, as a benefactor to mankind; as a father to all his people, to the conquered scarcely less than to his fellowconquerors[9].

[9] Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Persians, has borne testimony to the virtues of Cyrus in a short but emphatical panegyric:

- - - - - Κῦρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ,
Ἀρχὰς ἔθηκε πᾶσιν εἰρήνην φίλοις·
Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτήσατο,
Ἰωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἤλασεν βίᾳ.
Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἤχθηρεν, ὡς εὔφρων ἵφυ.
p. 262. edit. H. Steph.

This passage strongly indicates that the strange story told by Herodotus of the death of Cyrus, if ever heard of, was not commonly received in Greece in the poet's time; and tho, as far as I have observed, unnoticed by modern writers, should add considerable weight to the opinions which give the preference to Xenophon's more probable account.—Herodotus indeed prefaces his narrative with a confession that it was dubious, and that he had only selected it from among various contradictory reports. The mention of Cyrus, in Isocrates's encomium of Evagoras, may also seem to indicate that it did not gain any very extensive credit. The testimony of Isocrates corresponds with that of Æschylus: Ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν γε ἔτεσιτα γεγενημένων, ἴσως δὲ τῶν ἁπάντων, Κύρον, τὸν Μήδων μὲν ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν, Πέρσαις δὲ κτησάμενον, ὃς πλείστοι καὶ μάλιστα θαυμάζουσιν. κ. τ. ε. Isocrates's subject could hardly have failed to lead him to notice the final failure of the fortune of Cyrus, had it in his time had any general credit. Isocr. Evag. laud. p. 292. t. 2. ed. Auger.

SECTION II.

Accession of Cambyses to the Throne of Persia. Acquisition of Tyre and Conquest of Egypt by the Persians. Accession of Darius. Constitution of the Persian Empire: Persian Religion.

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Ol. 62. 4. B.C. 529. N. and B.

CYRUS was succeeded in this great empire by his son Cambyses; whose temper which led him to emulate his father rather in military than in civil virtues, gave occasion to all neighboring nations to dread the force of which he was become absolute disposer. His first object was the conquest of EGYPT. That country, as we have before observed, had been, from times of highest antiquity, a populous, well-regulated, wealthy, and polished kingdom. Divided from all surrounding nations by natural boundaries of singular strength, it had been little exposed to forein invasion. Yet the Egyptian monarchs had always been of great political consequence. They interfered frequently in the affairs of Arabia and Palestine. This led to transactions, in war and in peace, with Assyria. But a vast desert divided the two monarchies; and the countries disputed by their arms were mostly far distant from the seat of government of either. Egypt itself, therefore, in a peace seldom interrupted, cultivated science and arts; and under Amasis, cotemporary with Cyrus, so florished in riches and population that, according to Herodotus, it contained twenty thousand towns. We have sufficient assurance that some of those towns were of extraordinary size and magnificence. Even in its miserable state, in modern times, suffering, as it has been for centuries, under a kind of constitutional anarchy, Egypt re-

Strabo, l. 17. p. 819.

Herodot. l. 2. c. 177.

mained wonderfully populous, abounding in towns and villages; and Cairo, not a century ago, was said to have above seven hundred thousand inhabitants. Antiently Egypt was the school of Greece: those who desired to improve themselves in knowlege went to Egypt; and a Greek derived reputation from the meer circumstance of having been in that polished country.

About a century before the reign of Amasis, a civil war in Egypt had given occasion to the establishment of a Grecian colony there. On a failure of the antient royal line, twelve chiefs had divided the sovereinty. One of them, Psammitichus, pressed by the rest, ingaged in his service some piratical Grecian adventurers from Ionia and Caria; and with their assistance became monarch of Egypt. This is the first instance recorded of that practice, not less common afterward among the Greeks than since among the Swiss, of letting their valor and skill in arms for hire. Psammitichus thought it prudent to retain for his support those by whom he had acquired his throne. He settled his auxiliary Greeks on some lands which he gave them, near the sea, on each side of the Pelusian, or eastermost branch of the Nile, and he incouraged their commerce with their mother-country. Hence the communication between Egypt and Greece became familiar, and thus first any accurate knowlege of Egypt came to the Greeks. Probably the antient constitution of the country suffered by this revolution. The power of the great families would be reduced; some of them perhaps extinguished: and a monarch who reigned by an army of forein mercenaries, could scarcely exist but through the maintenance of absolute dominion. The scepter of Psammitichus, thus supported, descended to his posterity. But Apries,

Herodot. l. 2. c. 152.

c. 154.

l. 2. c. 162.

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his great-grandson, was dethroned, and Amasis, a private Egyptian, acquired the sovereinty.

In Egypt, all persons being strictly confined by law to the profession of their ancestors, all the descendants of the Grecian mercenaries were born soldiers. Amasis imitated and extended the policy of Psammitichus. He removed the Grecian families to Memphis, his capital, and formed from them his body-guard. Incouraging thus the farther resort of Greeks to Egypt, he allotted for their residence and possession the town and territory of Naucratis, near the mouth of the Canobian, the westermost branch of the Nile, now called Albekeer[10], and recently become illustrious through the singularly glorious victory obtained there by the British fleet over the French. Amasis indulged the Greeks so far as to allow them to build temples, and have their processions and other religious ceremonies after the manner of their own country. Most of the Asian Greeks had accordingly temples there: of the people of old Greece, the Æginetans only are mentioned. But farther to cultivate a general interest through the Greek nation, when the temple of Delphi was burnt, Amasis made a large present to the Amphictyons, toward its restoration.

Herodot. c. 170.

This able prince died at a very advanced age, during the preparations in Persia for the invasion of his country. He was succeeded by his son Psammenitus, who seems to have suffered for want of his father's advantage of having been bred in a private situation. Through some mismanagement, apparently, in those who guided his councils, Phanes, a Halicarnassian, of considerable abilities and high in

Herodot. l. 3. c. 4.

[10] The French corruption and orthography of this Arabic name has been adopted by our government, whence, against the better practice of our most learned and respectable travel-writers, it is now commonly written 'Aboukir.'

command in the Grecian troops, took disgust at the Egyptian service, and went over to the Persian. The approach to Egypt from Asia with a large army, from the nature of the intervening country, even no enemy opposing, is difficult. The Persians were utterly unversed in marine affairs; but they had absolute command of whatever the Asian Greeks could supply. Tyre, moreover, originally a colony from Sidon, but risen to a superiority, both in commerce and political consequence, above the parent-city, so as to become the first maritime power in the world, was under his dominion. It had been subdued, about fifty years before, by Nabuchodonosor king of Assyria. The Tyrians therefore gladly passed under the sovereinty of Persia, and seem to have obtained favorable terms. The Cyprian Greeks had also sought safety by voluntary submission; and all these people contributed to form the fleet and army which were to go against Egypt. Yet all the formidable force that the Persian monarch could raise might have failed, but for the exact knowlege of the country, and the approaches to it, which Phanes brought to him. The army must pass through a part of the Desert Arabia. Under the direction of Phanes, the friendship of an independent Arabian chief, such as yet hold that country in defiance of all the power of Turkey was purchased; and through his assistance the troops were supplied with provisions, and what was still more difficult, with water[11]. Thus a most formidable obstacle was overcome without loss, and the army met the fleet before

SECT. II.

Herodot. l. 2. c. 1.

l. 3. c. 19.

l. 3. c. 4. & seq.

[11] In describing this country and its people, little known to the Greeks in general, who from all their settlements made the passage to Egypt by sea, Herodotus gives one strong instance, among many, of the accuracy as well as the extent of his information, and of his fidelity in reporting it. To the correctness of his account of Egypt, one of the most intelligent and accu-

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Ol. 63. 4. B. C. 525. B.

Herodot. l. 3. c. 13.

Pelusium, on the eastermost branch of the Nile, which, in the greatest part of its course, washes the edge of the desert. That key of Egypt was taken after a short siege: Psammenitus was defeated in a great battle; and the whole country quickly submitted to the conqueror. The neighboring Africans, and among the rest the Greeks of Cyrenë and Barca, sent offers of submission and tribute, which were accepted.

Cambyses, flushed with success beyond expectation, would immediately proceed to farther conquest.

l. 3. c. 17. Herodotus says that he proposed at the same time to make war upon the Ethiopians, Ammonians, and

c. 17. Carthaginians. Carthage, a colony from Tyre, emulating the mother-country in commerce, was become equal, or superior, in naval power. But the Tyrians showed such extreme aversion to assist in a war against those whom they termed their children, that Cambyses was persuaded to desist from that enterprize. He chose to go in person against Ethiopia. Without seeing an enemy, he lost more than half his army in the desert, and returned. His conduct ever since the conquest of Egypt, had been that of a merciless and frantic tyrant, his wildness often approaching madness. He is said to have died, in the eighth year of his reign, of an accidental wound from his own sword. The Grecian accounts however of these distant transactions, especially of those not by their nature of very public notoriety, are probably not very exact. A Magian, we are told, usurped the Persian throne, pretending to be the younger son of Cyrus, escaped from assassination, by which, at the command of Cambyses, the reäl prince had

rate of modern travellers, Volney, who investigated that country as far as its modern state would permit, has given repeated testimony.

perished. It will not be necessary to repeat here the well-known story of the conspiracy of the seven chiefs, the death of the usurper, and the elevation of Darius to the throne by the neighing of his horse. It suffices for our purpose that Darius, said to be of the royal family of Persia, but not descended from Cyrus, became soverein of the empire[12].

This prince was a successor not unworthy of that great monarch. His principal object seems to have been to complete and improve the plan traced by Cyrus for the administration of his vast dominion. What we ought to attribute to one, and what to the other, we cannot now tell; nor do we learn with the accuracy that we might wish, the particulars of the system finally established. But many circumstances contribute to show that, upon the whole, it was directed with admirable wisdom; insomuch that those nations, to whom despotic government seems congenial, have perhaps never since been so happy as under Persian rule. The original Persian constitution, according to Plato, was a mixed monarchy[13]. The Median was probably more despotic. The conquered were however of course to obey the conqueror. To provide for due obedience, the whole empire was divided into large provinces, called

Æschyl. Pers. Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 694. t. 2.

Ut. sup.

[12] Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Persians, gives a more numerous catalogue of kings, reigning between Cambyses and Cyrus, than Herodotus, whose account has been generally followed. Possibly among the names are those of pretenders who never were acknowleged sovereins of the empire (1). Thucydides, on the contrary, and Plato, omitting all mention of the usurpation, speak of Darius as reigning next after Cambyses (2).

[13] Πέρσαι γὰρ ὅτε μὲν τὸ μέτριον μᾶλλον δουλείας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἦγον ἐπὶ Κύρου, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὶ ἐλεύθεροι ἐγένοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἄλλων πολλῶν δεσπόται. Ἐλευθερίας γὰρ ἄρχοντες, μεταδιδόντες ἀρχομένοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἴσον ἄγοντες, μᾶλλον φίλοι τε ἦσαν στρατιῶται στρατηγοῖς. κ. τ. ε. Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 694.

(1) Plat. on Legisl. b. 3. p. 695. v. ii.
(2) Thucyd. l. 1. c. 14. Plat. Menex. p. 239. t. 2.

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satrapies, each under the superintendency of a great officer intitled satrap, to whom all governors of towns and smaller districts were responsible; but without being dependent on him for their appointment or removal, which were immediate from the monarch. Thus the superior and inferior governors were each a check upon the other. That the affairs of the empire might be administered with regularity and certain despatch, and that information might constantly and speedily pass between the capital and the remotest provinces, an establishment was made, imperfectly resembling the modern post: the business of government alone was its object, without any regard to commercial intercourse, or the convenience of individuals. This appears, however, to have been the first model of that institution which now, through the liberal system of European politics, and the ascendant which Europe has acquired in the affairs of the world, extends communication so wonderfully over the globe. Judging from what we learn of the Grecian cities under the Persian dominion, and Plato in a great degree confirms it, the provinces generally were allowed, for their interior administration, each to retain its own municipal law. The Persian laws, pervading the empire, were probably few and simple; more in the nature of fundamental maxims than of a finished system of jurisprudence. Thus that inflexible rule, that the Persian law was never in any point to be altered, might be a salutary restraint upon despotism, upon the caprice of the prince, and upon the tyranny or avarice of his officers, without preventing intirely the adapting of practice to changes of times and circumstances. Darius regulated the revenue of his empire, composed of the richest kingdoms in the world. In apportioning the imposts and directing their collec-

Herodot. l. 3. c. 89. Plutarch. Apophth.

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tion, he is said to have shown great ability and great moderation; yet so difficult is it for rulers to avoid censure whenever private convenience must yield in the least to public necessity, the Persians, forming a comparison of their three first emperors, called Cyrus the father, Cambyses the master, Darius the broker of the empire. Master, it must be observed, among the antients implied the relation, not, as with us, to hired servants, but to slaves[14].

[14] Æschylus, throughout his tragedy of the Persians, bears most honorable testimony to the character and administration of Darius, particularly in the chorus, p. 166.

Ω πόποι, ἦ μεγαλας
Ἀγαθᾶς τε πολισσούμου βιοτᾶς
Ἐστεύρσαμεν σθένος ὁ γεραιὸς
Πανταρκὴς, ἀκάκης,
Ἄμαχος βασιλεὺς ἰσόθεος
Δαρεῖος ἄρχᾳ χώρας.
Πρῶτα μὲν εὐδοκίμου
Στρατιᾶς ἀσφαινόμεθ', ἠδὲ νόμιμα τἀπὸ πύργινα πάντ' ἀκεύθητον. κ. τ. λ.

and Plato speaks of him in nearly corresponding terms, in Menexenus, p. 239, t. 2. and the third Dialogue on Legislation, p. 695.

Herodotus has undertaken to give an account, in some detail, of the produce of the Persian taxes: on what authority we are not informed. But we know that it is even now, with all the freedom of communication through modern Europe, extremely difficult to acquire information, at all approaching to exactness, of the revenue, and, still more, of the resources of neighboring states. Mr. Richardson, in his Dissertation on the Languages, &c. of the East, has observed, that the revenue of Persia, according to Herodotus's account, was very unequal to the expences of such an expedition as that attributed to Xerxes; and therefore, he says, Herodotus must stand convicted of falsehood in one case or the other. Unprejudiced persons will have little difficulty to chuse their belief. The principal circumstances of the expedition fell necessarily under the eyes of thousands. The revenue could be known to very few, and the resources probably to none. Yet a very acute inquirer into antient politics has observed, that valuable information is derived from Herodotus's account of the Persian revenue. See Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, v. 1. c. 8. note 1. & v. 2. c. 24.

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The Persians were by nothing more remarkably or more honorably distinguished from surrounding nations, and particularly from the Greeks, than by their Religion. It were beyond the purpose of a Grecian history to inlarge upon the theology of Zoroäster, which, as a most ingenious and indefatigable inquirer has observed, 'was darkly comprehended 'by foreiners, and even by the far greater number 'of his disciples.' It were equally beyond our object here to discuss the much disputed questions, When Zoroäster lived, and whether he was reälly the founder of the religion, the author of its sublime precepts and inlarged view of the Divine nature, or only the regulator of the Magian worship, and institutor of the innumerable ceremonies with which it became incumbered and disgraced. It may however be proper to advert briefly to the strong contrast between the Persian religion and the Greek, which, as the same able writer remarks, was such that it could not escape the most careless observer. It appears to have struck forcibly the inquisitive mind of Herodotus, who, with all the prejudices of polytheïsm about him, has in a few words marked it so accurately that, after every subsequent account of antient authors, and every discussion of modern, very nice distinction is necessary to convict him of any error. 'These,' says Herodotus, 'I have found to 'be the tenets of the Persians. They hold it un-'lawful to erect images, temples, and altars, and im-'pute to folly such practices in others: because, as 'it appears to me, they do not, like the Greeks, 'think the gods of the same nature or from the same 'origin with men. The summits of mountains they 'esteem the places most proper for sacrifice to the 'supreme Deïty; and the whole circle of the hea-'vens they call God. They sacrifice besides to the

Gibbon's Hist. of the Roman Empire, vol. 1. c. 8.

Herod. l. 1. c. 131, 132.

'sun, the moon, the earth, fire, water, and the winds. SECT. II.
'In addressing the Deity it is forbidden to petition
'for blessings to themselves individually; the prayer
'must extend to the whole Persian nation.' Such are the religious tenets which have always been attributed to the Persians. But the Persians themselves, of every age, as the historian of the Roman empire proceeds to observe, have denied that they extend divine honors beyond the One Supreme Being, and have explained the equivocal conduct which has given occasion to strangers continually to charge them with polytheism: 'The elements, and
'more particularly Fire, Light, and the Sun, were
'the objects of their religious reverence, because
'they considered them as the purest symbols, the
'noblest productions, and the most powerful agents
'of the Divine Power and Nature.'

Gibbon's History, vol. 1. c. 8.

SECTION III.

Conquest of Thrace, and Invasion of European Scythia by Darius. Submission of Macedonia to the Persian Empire. State of the Ægean Islands, and History of Polycrates tyrant of Samos. Situation of the Grecian People under the Persian Dominion.

THE great states which had hitherto swayed the politics of the civilized world, and balanced one another, were Assyria, Media, Lydia, Egypt. Armenia had also sometimes been of consequence; and Tyre, with a territory of small extent, yet respectable through wealth acquired by commerce, and naval strength, the consequence of commerce, like Holland in modern times, had been usually courted by the greatest monarchs. Carthage was already a rising power, SECT. III.

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but distant. Greece was yet of little political consideration. Separated into so many small independent states, often hostile to each other, and never united by any effectual and lasting tie, each by itself, among the transactions of great nations, appeared utterly insignificant. Assyria, Media, Lydia, Armenia, Egypt, Tyre, with all their dependencies, were now united under one vast empire. There appeared thus in the world scarcely an object for the Persian arms; and it might be expected that a prince, wise like Darius, yet not particularly indowed with the genius of a conqueror, would remain satisfied with such dominions, without desiring more, or fearing that any forein power could make them less.

But such is the nature of man, that prosperity itself creates disquiet. Peace, internal and external, is not always within the power of the wisest prince; the choice of evils only is left to him; and, tho despotic chief of a state the most dreaded by neighboring nations, he may be under a necessity to make war. Thus it seems to have been with Darius. The Persians had been accustomed to respect, in their sovereins, first their right of inheritance, then their character as conquerors. Ambitious spirits, long used to military activity, could ill bear rest: and the gains of conquest would not soon be forgotten by the greedy. All circumstances therefore considered, it may have been much more a matter of necessity than of choice for Darius to seek for a war to wage.

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 97.

Of all the nations surrounding the Persian empire, the wild people of the frozen regions of Scythia could alone be esteemed formidable to it. Darius resolved to lead an army against them by the western side of the Euxine sea. The pretence for the war was the invasion of Asia by that people above a

hundred years before, when they overran Media. But if we may guess at the reäl inducement to undertake this expensive and hazardous expedition, seemingly without necessity as without allurement, it was to lead as far from home as possible the restless spirits of the nation: and by a rough and unprofitable warfare, to make their wishes and desires revert, and become fixed on the peaceable injoyment of those rich homes which the valor and fortune of their fathers had acquired for them. An immense army was collected. The Asian Greeks formed a naval force to attend it. They were ordered to the mouth of the Danube. All the nations as far as that river submitted without resistance. Darius crossed it: but when ingaged in the vast wilderness beyond, tho no enemy appeared capable of opposing his force, want of subsistence soon obliged him to retire toward more cultivated regions. Then the Scythians, collecting their strength, pressed upon his rear. Like the modern Tartars they fought mostly on horseback: like them also, daring and skilful skirmishers, but incapable of order, they defeated an enemy in detail, continually harassing and cutting off detached parties, without ever coming to a general ingagement; to which, on account of their quick motion, and total disincumbrance from baggage and magazines, it was impossible to force them. Herodotus's account of this expedition exactly resembles what has been experienced in the same part of the world several times within the last century. The Persian cavalry, he tells us, shrunk from the impetuosity of the Scythian charge; yet the Scythians could make no impression upon the compact body of the Persian foot. A retreat, however, through such a country, in presence of a superior cavalry, was highly difficult and

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Herodot. l. 4. c 1. & seq.

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hazardous. After great sufferings and much loss, the Persians reached the Danube.[1] Having put that river between themselves and the enemy, the march was continued quietly to the Hellespont. Leaving a large force there under Megabazus, Darius proceeded to Sardis[15].

[15] Herodotus's account of this expedition affords remarkable proof both of his propensity to relate wonderful stories which he had heard, and of his honest scruple to invent what he had not heard, and at the same time it adds powerfully to the instances before occurring, of his having information of distant countries and distant transactions beyond what, for his age and circumstances, might be expected. Nothing can be more improbable and inconsistent, not to say impossible, than his story of the Persian monarch's cruelty to Œobazus and his sons. All the most authenticated circumstances of the life of Darius mark him as a polite prince, yet of singular humanity. But that execution, as it stands reported by Herodotus, appears scarcely less absurd in its impolicy than abominable for its cruelty. Yet that about the time of Darius's march for Scythia, there may have been executions in Persia in a family of rank, is by no means impossible: and while the policy of a despotic government would conceal the real circumstances of the crime, perhaps also forbidding conversation upon it, the absurd tale, which Herodotus has transmitted to posterity, might pass in whispers as far as Asia Minor. The closet conversations between the Persian monarch and his brother, together with other circumstances of private communication, which the historian has undertaken to detail, must be otherwise considered. A propensity to the dramatic manner appears strong in all very antient history, and particularly in the oriental. It is indeed still observable in the narration of uneducated people in the most polished countries. This was not so far obsolete among the Greeks, after the age of Herodotus, but that the judicious and exact Thucydides thought it necessary to diversify his narrative by the frequent introduction of speeches; which he has used as a vehicle of political discussion of highest advantage to his history. But tho he bears with the critics the principal credit of this management, it appears that the design was not original with him: he found the example already set by Herodotus; of which a very valuable specimen occurs in the debate of the Persian chiefs concerning the form of government to be established after the death of the Magian usurper: certainly not the less valuable from the circumstance that, evidently not the sentiments of Persians confined to a despotic court, but the result of extensive observation by a Greek among various governments, is there related. The pretended debate in the cabinet

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It has been common, among later historians, to speak of the event of this expedition as highly disgraceful to Darius; seemingly with as little reason as the virtues, and even the wisdom of the savage Scythians have been extolled; whose virtues and whose wisdom seem to have been more nearly the same, from the age of Darius to the present day, than those of perhaps any other people. Certainly his reputation and consequence among nations were not sunk by it[16]. On his return, the Ionian and Æolian Greeks vied in paying court to him. The force left under Megabazus sufficed to extend the Persian dominion westward. All was subdued as far as Macedonia; and Amyntas, king of that country, acknowleged subjection to the Persian monarch by the delivery of earth and water. The Grecian ilands also began to feel the overbearing influence of the Persian power. The history of Samos, which had been acquired in the reign of Cambyses, as it tends to explain the state of those ilands and seas, may deserve some detail.

Herodot. l. 5. c. 18. Plat. Man. p. 239. t. 2.

of Xerxes concerning the expedition into Greece, considered as an exposition of the state of Greece at the time, is also well worthy attention. But the account which Herodotus has left us of so singular a people as the Scythians, so little generally known to the Greeks, when we find it confirmed by all subsequent testimony, and at length by the deep and acute researches of the historian of the Roman empire, cannot but do him great credit. It has been a kind of fashion, to which Plutarch principally has given vogue, to sneer at his authority. An attentive examination of his narrative, and a careful comparison of it with all the antient writers nearest to him in age, convinced me of its merit. His place in antient history can be supplied by no other author; and it has therefore been highly satisfactory to me to find him so well stand the test of Mr. Gibbon's very extensive and very trying inquiries.

[16] The testimonies of Æschylus and Plato to this point are still stronger than that of Herodotus. See the chorus quoted in note[14] p. 427 of this volume, and Plato's third Dialogue on Legislation, p. 695. t. 2.

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Herodot. l. 3. c. 39. & seq. Strab. l. 14. p. 637, 638.

Polycrates, a private citizen of Samos, had, in conjunction with his two brothers, made himself master of the government. Procuring then the death of one, and the banishment of the other, he remained monarch of the iland. He seems to have been the Machiavel of his time, with the advantage of possessing the means to prove the merit of his theory by practice. It is said to have been his favorite maxim, that by avoiding to injure he gained nothing, but by repairing injuries he conciliated friends. With a hundred trireme galleys in constant pay, he exercised universal piracy in the Grecian seas. But he cultivated the friendship of Amasis king of Egypt; who being, like himself, both a man of abilities and a usurper, would naturally incline to the connection. He acquired possession of many of the smaller ilands of the Ægean, and of several towns on the continent of Asia Minor. In a war with the Milesians, defeating their allies the Lesbians in a sea-fight, he destroyed or took the whole fleet; and so little consideration had he for the Grecian name, the prisoners were made slaves, and the ditch surrounding the walls of Samos in Herodotus's time was formed by their labor. Little, however, as he cared for justice or humanity, he studied elegance in luxury. He incouraged arts and learning, which were already beginning to florish among the Asian Greeks, and the poet Anacreon was his constant guest. But the philosopher Pythagoras is said to have avoided such patronage, and after passing some time in Egypt and Babylon, to have settled at Crotona in Italy.

Herodot. l. 3. c. 121. Isocr. Bus. encom.

Strabo, l. 14. 638.

Polycrates at length began to be remarked for a prosperity which, among many trying circumstances, in no one instance had ever failed him. This very prosperity is said to have lost him the friend-

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ship of the king of Egypt. The anecdote, considered relatively to the history of the human mind, is remarkable. Amasis thought it in the nature of things that the tide of human affairs must unfailingly, sooner or later, bring a violent reverse of fortune; and in this belief he advised Polycrates to seek some loss, which might appease that disposition, apparent in the gods, disposers of worldly things, to envy human happiness[17]. Polycrates, whether believing with his royal friend, or meerly humoring popular prejudice, determined to follow the advice. He had a remarkable seal, highly valued, an emerald cut by Theodorus a celebrated Samian artist. This seal he threw into the sea. A few days after, a fish of uncommon size being brought to him for a present, the seal was found in its belly. Polycrates, supposing this must be esteemed a manifest declaration of divine favor, wrote a particular account of it to Amasis; whose superstition however led him to so different a theory, that he sent a herald formally to renounce friendship and hospitality with one whom he thought marked for peculiar vengeance by the gods. Whether the circumstances of this story be simply true, or whether so deep a politician as Polycrates might think it worth while to impose the belief of the more extraordinary of them on a superstitious people, for the purpose of confirming the ideä that he was peculiarly favored by the Deïty (an ideä then of high political importance), or whether we suppose the whole a fiction, which is not likely, it assists at least to characterize the age in which it was written, and many following ages,

Herod. l. 3. c. 40, 41. Strabo, l. 14. p. 637, 638.

Herodot. & Strabo, ut sup.

[17] Εμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, ἁ θεῖον ἐπιζαμένῳ ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν. Epistle from Amasis to Polycrates in Herodot. b. 3. c. 40.

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in which it was thought worth repeating and animadverting upon.

A deep stroke of policy, which occurs next in the history of Polycrates, perfectly accords with his general character. He feared sedition among the Samians. Cambyses was then collecting a naval force from the Asian Greeks for his Egyptian expedition. Polycrates sent privately to desire that the Persian monarch would require, from him also, a contribution of force to the armament. Such a request was not likely to be denied: the requisition was made; and Polycrates in consequence manned forty trireme galleys with those whom he thought most inclined and most able to give him disturbance. He had determined that they should never return to Samos; but, after the conquest of Egypt, failing in intrigue to procure their detention by the Persians, he opposed them with open hostility. Thus excluded from their country, they applied to Lacedæmon for assistance. The Spartan government, always disposed to interfere in the internal quarrels of neighboring states, received them favorably. Some old piracies of the Samians were a farther pretence for war, and induced the Corinthians to join in it. The united force of Lacedæmon and Corinth besieged Samos forty days without making any progress, and then returned to Peloponnesus. The expelled Samians had now again their fortune to seek; and piracy was the resource on which they determined. The iland of Siphnus, small and otherwise of little value, had gold and silver mines, by which its inhabitants became remarkable among the Greeks for riches. The Samians went thither and desired to borrow ten talents, about two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. Being refused, they landed, and began to plunder the country. The

Herodot. l. 3. c. 44, & seq.

Siphnians, giving them battle, were defeated; and, in retreating to their town, a large body was cut off. A treaty was then proposed, and the Siphnians bought the departure of the Samians at the price of a hundred talents, nearly twenty-five thousand pounds. These freebooters then sailed to Crete, and seizing a territory, founded the town of Cydonia, where they prospered greatly for five years; but in the sixth, quarrelling with the Æginetans, more powerful pirates than themselves, they were defeated in a sea-fight. The Æginetans then landed in Crete; and, being joined by the Cretans in attacking the Samian town, they took it, and reduced all the inhabitants to slavery. SECT. III.

Such being the state of the Grecian ilands and Grecian seas, and such the mutual treatment of the Greeks among one another, we shall the less wonder at what they experienced from the Persians. The ambition of Polycrates was not inferior to his abilities. He is supposed to have aimed at no less than the command of all the ilands of the Ægean, together with all Æolia and Ionia. His power, particularly his naval power, his known talents, and his suspected views, probably all gave umbrage to Orœtes satrap of Sardis. What other cause of offence there was, Herodotus confesses that he could not certainly learn. The Persian invited him to his court. Polycrates went with a large retinue. He was immediately arrested, and put to death by a public crucifixion; esteemed the most ignominious, as it was the most cruel of all usual modes of execution. His subjects appear to have submitted without resistance to the satrap's authority. Herodot. l. 3. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13. Strabo, l. 14. p. 637, 638. Ol. 64. 3. B. C. 522. B.

Samos thus was, except Cyprus, the first Grecian iland brought under the Persian dominion. But, after the return of Darius from Scythia, Lesbos,

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Chios, and other ilands on the Asiatic coast were, some voluntarily, others by compulsion, added to his vast empire. Tyrants in general, and all who aimed at tyranny, not unwillingly submitted to a supremacy which either placed them above their fellowcitizens, or secured the superiority obtained. It was a common policy of the Persians, which we find practised by the great Cyrus, and perhaps not less advantageous than liberal, to appoint the son of the conquered prince, or some other principal person of the country itself, to be governor of the conquered country; always however under the superintending control of a Persian satrap. Most of the Grecian towns were therefore left to their own magistrates and laws; some citizen presiding as governor, whom in that elevated situation, the Greeks always intitled Tyrant. Thus Coës the Mitylenæan, for services in the Scythian expedition, was raised to the tyranny of Mitylenë. Darius, having settled the administration of Asia Minor, and of his new acquisitions in Europe, committed the superintendency of the whole to his brother Artaphernes, and returned to Susa his capital.

Herod. l. 1. c. 154. l. 3. c. 15.

l. 5. c. 2.

Probably the principal purposes of the Scythian expedition were accomplished[18]. The ambitious spirits among the Persians had been diverted from domestic disturbance. If the army suffered in the Scythian wilds, yet a large extent of valuable country, inhabited by different nations, was nevertheless added to the empire. New honors and new employments were thus brought within the monarch's disposal. And the acquisition was perhaps not the

[18] This seems a conclusion warranted by the whole narrative of Herodotus. The testimonies last referred to of Æschylus and Plato speak still more strongly to the same purpose.

less valuable from the circumstance that both the people of the newly acquired territory, and the people still unsubdued bordering on it, were in disposition restless and fierce; and therefore likely to furnish employment for those whom the prince, himself safe in his distant capital, might wish to employ.

CHAPTER VII.

Continuation of the History of GREECE during the Reign of DARIUS King of PERSIA.

SECTION I.

Immediate Causes of the Wars between Greece and Persia. Persian Expedition against Naxos. Revolt of the Asian Greeks against the Persian Government.

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THE Persian dominion now extended over a large portion of the Grecian people, and bordered on Greece itself. The Asiatic colonies indeed, natural and almost necessary objects for Persian ambition, could hardly anyhow have avoided falling under its overwhelming power: but Greece, separated from all the world by lofty mountains and dangerous seas, had little to attract the notice of the mighty monarch who lived at Susa; while the nearer provinces of India presented a far more tempting field for his arms; and the Scythians, who ranged the long extent of his northern frontier, from the borders of China to the borders of Germany, might still be deemed formidable neighbors. Had therefore inactivity been in the temper of its people, Greece might have lain long in obscurity, peaceful, free, and unregarded. But inactivity was in the temper neither of the people nor of the governments of Greece. Touching upon the Persian provinces, to clash was

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 97.

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scarcely avoidable; and some transactions, at first seemingly insignificant among the concerns of a vast empire, led shortly to those wars, which, by events contrary to all human expectation and foresight, raised the Grecian name to the summit of military glory; and giving thus a new and powerful spring to the temper and genius of the people, contributed greatly to those astonishing exertions of the mind in every path of science and of art, which have made the Greeks of this and the next age the principal ornaments of the history of mankind. To borrow therefore the words of a great man, who has treated Grecian history, tho briefly, yet with superior penetration and judgement, 'I shall not hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumstance 'of so great a business as gave fire to those wars, 'which never could be thoroughly quenched until 'in the ruin of this great Persian monarchy[1].'

Among the Grecian governors under the Persian dominion, Histiæus tyrant of Miletus was eminent for abilities, and for favor with the Persian king. He had rendered considerable services in the Scythian expedition; and, as a reward, had obtained a grant of a territory on the river Strymon in Thrace, where he proposed to plant a colony. The mines of gold and silver in that country, and the shiptimber, with which it abounded, made it a great object

Herodot. l. 5. c. 11. & seq.

[1] Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, book 3. c. 5. sect. 7. It is to be regretted that this extraordinary man, who by that union of characters, common among the antients, but almost singular in modern ages, soldier, seaman, statesman, scholar, poet, and philosopher, was so peculiarly qualified to unfold antient history to modern apprehension, should have allowed himself so little scope for the affairs of Greece and Rome. Hume has noticed his superior manner of treating them, in his History of England, in the Appendix to the Reign of James the First.

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for the Greeks; while, in the extent of the Persian empire, to give away a corner of a newly acquired province, was a trifle for the prince's bounty; nor would the circumstances of the spot, in themselves, be thought worth inquiry. But the busy temper of the Greeks, their forms of government, so new to the Persians, and particularly their skill in naval affairs, which gave them importance with their conquerors, were likely to excite jealousy. The settlement therefore was scarcely begun, when it was suggested that Histiæus, by means of his colony, so favorably situated both for acquisition of wealth and increase of naval power, might raise himself into a situation to assert independency. Miletus, where he governed, was in riches and population the first of the Asiatic Grecian cities: his influence was extensive among the others; and should he acquire the command of the whole maritime force of the Asian Greeks, it might not be easy to reduce them. Quietly, therefore, and without apparent injury, to obviate any such project, it was pretended that Darius greatly desired his advice and assistance at Susa. There any honors might be paid him, without risk of his acquiring means to assume more than it was thought proper to give. Histiæus, flattered by the distinction, gladly consented to attend the king. His Thracian settlement meanwhile remained to him; and completely to prove that only favor was intended, the government of Miletus, during his absence, was committed to his kinsman Aristagoras.

Herodot. l. 5. c. 28, & seq.

About the time of this arrangement, a contest of factions in Naxos, one of the most populous and florishing ilands of the Ægean, came to extremity; and, the democratical party prevailing, all the men of principal rank and property were expelled. In these untoward circumstances they applied to the

new governor of Miletus, as the person of greatest power and influence among the Asian Greeks; and Aristagoras, thinking the opportunity commodious for adding Naxos to his own command, received them favorably. He told them, that indeed the force under his immediate authority was unequal to the reduction of those who now held their iland; for he was informed they were eight thousand strong in regular heavy-armed foot, and had many galleys: but that his interest was good with Artaphernes the Persian satrap, brother of the great king; and with his assistance, who commanded so great a force by sea and land, what they desired might easily be effected. The expelled Naxians, for the sake of recovering their own possessions, and revenging themselves on their opponents, readily consented to guide a Persian army against a Grecian iland. Artaphernes then approving the proposal for the expedition, the winter was consumed in preparing two hundred trireme galleys, with a competent landforce, and Megabates, of the blood royal of Persia, was, in conjunction with Aristagoras, appointed to the command. To deceive the Naxians, it was reported that the armament was intended for the Hellespont; and accordingly, when the fleet sailed in the spring, its course was first directed that way; but it stopped at Chios, to wait for a northerly wind, which would carry it in one day and a night to Naxos. SECT. I.

For the antient galleys of war, as we have before observed, an open beach, upon which they might be hauled, served as a port; and as their scanty width and depth afforded little convenient shelter for the numerous complement, which the antient mode both of navigation and of naval action required, the crews, for health as well as for convenience, were at every opportunity incamped or quartered

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ashore[2]; a guard only, proportioned to the exigency of the situation, being mounted on every ship. It happened that Megabates, visiting the fleet, found a Grecian galley without its guard. Incensed at such dangerous neglect of discipline, he sent for the captain; and with the haughty and undistinguishing imperiousness of a modern Turkish bashaw, immediately ordered him to be tied in his own cabin, with his head out of the window[3]. Information was presently carried to Aristagoras; who hastened to Megabates, and begged that a man in such a command, and his friend, might not be so opprobriously treated. The Persian refused to relax; upon which Aristagoras, went himself and set the captain free. Megabates was of course violently offended. Aristagoras, far from making any submission, insisted that the whole business of the expedition was committed to his direction. With such dissension between the leaders, affairs were not likely to be well conducted. Megabates, according to Herodotus, as soon as night came on, sent a vessel to Naxos to give information of the object of the armament. The Naxians, in consequence, who had apprehended nothing from a force professedly designed for the Hellespont, and known to have begun its course northward, immediately drove their cattle, brought all their moveables into the city, and made every preparation for vigorous defence. The fleet at length arrived. The disappointment was great on finding the inhabitants

[2] This we learn not only from Herodotus, but from many very explicit passages of Thucydides, which will occur to notice in the sequel.

[3] Διὰ θαλαμίης διελόντας τῆς νεος. Herod. l. v. c. 33. 'Vincire 'trajectum per thalamium navis, id est foramen per quod infimi 'remi extant.' Wesseling. Unsatisfied with this, I do not know that I can support the different interpretation which I have given; but it is here of little consequence.

prepared; yet siege was laid to the city of the same name with the iland. The defence was however so well maintained that, after four months, little progress was made. The sums allowed by Artaphernes being then consumed, and much besides from the private fortune of Aristagoras, it became necessary to abandon the enterprize. Fortifying therefore a post within the iland, in which the Naxian refugees might maintain themselves, the armament, which had suffered considerably, returned to the continent. SECT. I.

Aristagoras now found himself very critically situated. Sure of the enmity of Megabates, and reasonably fearing the displeasure of Artaphernes, he expected deprivation of his command at Miletus as the least evil that could insue. The distress in his private affairs therefore, from his great expences on the expedition, added to the loss of his credit at the satrap's court, the disappointment of all his former hopes, and apprehension of still worse consequences, made him desperate. His credit was yet high, not only in Miletus but through all the Asiatic Grecian cities, and the ideä rose of exciting a general revolt of them against the Persian government. In this crisis a messenger came to him from Histiæus at Susa. That chief, highly uneasy under all the honors he received at the Persian court, while he found himself reälly an exile and a slave, began to see it was intended that his banishment from his native country should be perpetual. In revolving therefore the circumstances which might possibly obtain him the means of returning, none appeared so likely to be efficacious as a revolt in Ionia; and he determined upon the dangerous measure of endevoring to excite one, hoping that he should infallibly be among those who would be employed to quell it. To convey to Aristagoras his wishes on a

Herodot. l. 5. c. 35.

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subject so hazardous to communicate upon, he is said to have written with an indelible stain on the shaven head of a trusty slave, and waiting till the hair was sufficiently grown again to hide the letters, he dispatched the slave to Miletus. The wavering resolution of Aristagoras was thus determined. He sounded the Milesians, and found many well disposed to his purpose. He then called them together, and made his proposal in form. The restoration of democracy was the lure: Aristagoras offered to resign the tyranny. Of the persons whom he had assembled, Hecatæus the historian, remarkable as one of the earliest Grecian prose-writers whose works had any reputation with posterity, but from whom nothing remains to us, is said alone to have dissuaded the revolt; arguing from the extreme disproportion of any force they could possibly collect and maintain, to that of the Persian empire. Not prevailing, he then recommended particular attention to their marine; for the command of the sea, he said, alone could give them a chance for success. But their public revenue, he observed, was very unequal to such an object; and he therefore advised the application of the treasures which had been deposited by Crœsus in the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, otherwise a ready prey for the enemy, to that important purpose. This was disapproved, but the resolution to revolt nevertheless prevailed, and measures decisive and vigorous were immediately taken in prosecution of it. Aristagoras immediately resigned the supreme command, and republican government was reëstablished in Miletus. The Grecian forces, returned from Naxos, lay still incamped at Myus, under the command mostly of the tyrants of the several cities. Iatragoras, a man of influence, under commission from the new Milesian

Herodot. l. 5. c. 36.

government, hastening thither, arrested most of those commanders, and sending them to their several cities, delivered them to the party adverse to the existing government. In general they were banished, but Coës, who had been raised by Darius to the tyranny of Mitylenë, was put to death. Thus, through a general restoration of democratical government, all Ionia and Æolia were presently ingaged in the revolt. SECT. I.

Aristagoras left nothing unattempted which might contribute to the success of the very hazardous enterprize in which he had ingaged himself and his country. He undertook an embassy to Greece, with the hope of gaining the parent states to the cause of the colonies. Going first to Lacedæmon, he endevored to rouse the Spartans by urging the shame which redounded to all Greece, and especially to the leading state, from the miserable subjection of a Grecian people. He magnified the wealth, and made light of the military force of the Persian empire. He animadverted upon the inferiority of Asiatic courage, of Asiatic arms, and of the Asiatic manner of fighting. He drew an alluring picture of the great and glorious field which Asia offered for the exercise of that military virtue, in which the Spartans so greatly excelled all other people; and he observed how much more worthy it was of their ambition than the scanty frontier, for which they had been so long contending with their neighbors, the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argians, whose nearer approach to them in valor and discipline yet made success more doubtful. He concluded with mentioning no less than the conquest of Asia, and the plunder of Susa itself, as attainable objects for the Lacedæmonian arms. But the cautious government, wholly directed by a few aged men, was not yet ripe for such Herodot. l. 5. c. 38.

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allurement. Aristagoras was asked, how far it was from Miletus to Susa? He answered, incautiously, 'A three months journey.' Nothing more was wanting to procure him a firm denial. It was replied, that he could not seriously call himself a friend to the Lacedæmonians, who wanted to lead them on a military expedition to the distance of a three months journey; and he was commanded to leave Sparta. Finding he could avail nothing publicly, he is said to have attempted to gain king Cleomenes by bribes; but failing in this also, he passed to Athens.

SECTION II.

Affairs of Athens. Invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Eubœans. Assistance from Athens to the Ionians against Persia. Reduction of the Asiatic Grecian States again under the Persian dominion. History of the Athenian Colony in the Thracian Chersonese. Liberal Administration of the conquered Provinces under the Persian Dominion.

We left the Athenians just restored to nominal liberty, but in no florishing circumstances. By turns distracted with domestic faction, pressed by the tyranny of Lacedæmon, and urged by the apprehension of a most formidable attack with which Cleomenes threatened them, they had, by their ambassadors at Sardis, submitted to the humiliation of acknowleging subjection to the Persian king, in hope of obtaining his powerful protection. The conduct of those ambassadors, we are told, was strongly reprobated on their return; and it does not appear that any Persian assistance was either given, or farther desired. Yet the danger which hung over Athens might have justified a treaty for protection

Herodot. l. 5. p. 73.

upon almost any terms. Cleomenes was bent upon revenge. He collected forces from all Peloponnesus, not informing the allies what was his object. At the head of a large army he landed at Eleusis. At the same time, according to previous agreement, the Thebans, by a sudden attack, took Œnoë and Hysiæ, Attic boroughs bordering on Bœotia, while the Chalcidians of Eubœa also invaded Attica on their side. It is the common effect of public danger and public misfortune to bring forward great characters, and to excite even ordinary men to great exertion. No individual among the Athenians is particularly noticed by history upon this occasion; but the administration of the commonwealth appears to have been wise and spirited. Neglecting, for the present, the Thebans and Eubœans, the Athenian leaders directed their whole force against the Peloponnesians, the more formidable enemy. A battle, upon which the fate of Athens depended, was on the point of being fought, when the Corinthians, angry that they had not been previously consulted concerning the object of the armament, ashamed to be made the tools of the revenge of Cleomenes and the ambition of Sparta, and otherwise little desirous to ruin Athens, withdrew their forces. Demaratus, king of Sparta, dissatisfied with his collegue, and willing to preserve his interest with the Corinthians, retreated with them. These examples sufficed for the other Peloponnesian allies: all withdrew: and Cleomenes was thus reduced to the necessity of hastily, and not without shame, retiring with the small force remaining under his command. The Athenians immediately turned against their other enemies. They overtook the Bœotian army at the Euripus, retreating to join the Chalcidians, who had withdrawn into Eubœa. They defeated it; took

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Herodot. l. 5. c. 74, & seq.

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seven hundred prisoners; and, crossing the Euripus the same day, gained a second victory over the Chalcidians, so complete, that they became masters of a tract in Eubœa sufficient to divide among four thousand families of their fellowcountrymen, whom they established as a colony there. The Athenian treasury was inriched by the ransom of the prisoners, at two minæ, about eight pounds sterling, a head.

Herodot. l. 5. c. 83. Chandler's Travels in Greece, c. 3 & 4.

Overagainst Athens, on the southern side of the Saronic gulph, lies the little barren iland of Ægina, formerly subject to the neighboring little state of Epidaurus in Peloponnesus, which was itself originally but a member of the Argian commonwealth. This iland, or rather rock, was a convenient resort for seafaring people, whether merchants or pirates; and, between the two, growing populous and wealthy, had not only shaken off its dependency upon Epidaurus, but was become one of the principal naval powers of Greece[4]. Some old causes of enmity subsisted between Ægina and Athens. The Thebans, therefore, anxious for revenge against the Athenians, but unable, since the defection of their allies, to prosecute it by their own arms, endevored to ingage the Æginetans in their confederacy; and, with the help of an unintelligible response from the Delphian oracle, they succeeded. Those ilanders surprized and plundered the port of Phalerum, and extended their ravages along a considerable tract of the Attic coast. The Athenians, who had hitherto applied themselves little to naval war, were without means for immediate revenge, and weightier matters soon required their attention.

[4] Setting aside the unfavorable part of the Æginetan character, Ægina was the Jersey and Guernsey of the Grecian seas.

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Cleomenes was not of a temper to rest under the disappointment and disgrace of his late miscarriage. He left nothing untried to excite a fresh league against Athens. In the Spartan senate he asserted, that when he was besieged in the Athenian citadel, the archives of the republic being then open to him, he had discovered the collusion of the Delphian priests with the Alcmæonids, in regard to the pretended responses of the god, commanding the Lacedæmonians to give liberty to Athens. He urged that the Spartan government had therefore acted not less unjustly and irreligiously than imprudently in expelling Hippias; to whom they were bound equally by the sacred laws of hospitality and by the political interest of their country: nor could they do their duty to gods or men otherwise than by restoring him. In truth the Athenian government seems already to have become formidable to other states by the political principles, which its leading men, flattering the Many to promote their own power, put forward. The Spartan government, infected with this jealousy, consented that Hippias should be invited into Peloponnesus. But Cleomenes had learnt from his late failure that the forces of the allies were not absolutely at his disposal; and that he must have some deference for the ruling powers in the cities whose troops he would employ. A convention of deputies from those cities was therefore summoned to Lacedæmon; among whom the measure was found so generally unpopular, and the Corinthian deputy particularly condemned it in such strong terms, that Cleomenes thought proper to desist from urging his design farther.

Herodot. l. 5. c. 90, & seq.

Hippias, disappointed of the hope thus held out to him, found yet resources in his private character, and the long established reputation of his family.

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Returning to Sigeium he received invitations from Amyntas king of Macedonia, and from the Thessalians; the former offering Anthemus, the others Iolcus, for places of settlement for himself and his partizans. But he had views which induced him to prefer his residence in Asia.

Herodot. l. 5. c. 94.

We have now seen Persia attracting the attention of the Greeks of Asia and the ilands; much as a tremendous enemy, but sometimes too as a valuable friend. We have seen the democracy itself of Athens setting the example, among the states of Old Greece, of soliciting Persian protection. Will then the liberal spirit of patriotism and equal government justify the prejudices of Athenian faction, and doom Hippias to peculiar execration, because at length he also, with many of his fellowcitizens, despairing of other means for ever returning to their native country, applied to Artaphernes at Sardis? The resort of Greeks from various parts to the satrap's court and capital, some with political, some with mercantile views, was such that the Athenian government would not be likely to remain uninformed of what publicly passed there concerning them. Hippias found the attention which his rank and character might claim. The Athenian government, reasonably apprehensive of the consequences, sent to request that Artaphernes would not countenance their banished citizens. The Persian prince gave for his final answer to their ambassadors, 'That if the 'Athenians would be safe they must receive Hip-'pias.' The return of these ambassadors put Athens in a ferment. Universal indignation, not without a great mixture of alarm, was excited. It was at this critical moment that Aristagoras arrived from Sparta, to solicit assistance to the Ionian confederacy against the oppression of Persia. Being introduced

l. 5. c. 96.

l. 5. c. 97.

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into the assembly of the people, he repeated those arguments which at Lacedæmon had been unavailing. He added, that Miletus, as an Athenian colony, might reasonably claim assistance in its distress from a parent state so powerful. He omitted nothing that could flatter, allure, or excite commiseration; and having, as Herodotus observes, everything at stake, there was nothing that he was not ready to promise; and he prevailed. Twenty ships were voted to assist the Ionians; and these ships, adds the historian, were the beginning of evils to Greeks and barbarians.

Ol. 70. 1.[5] B.C. 500. Herodot. l. 3. c. 99, & seq.

The administration of Artaphernes appears to have been negligent and weak. The Athenian ships arrived at Miletus, with five added by the Eretrians of Eubœa. The combined fleet sailed to Ephesus; and by a bold stroke to profit from the Persian remissness, the landforces debarking, marched directly to Sardis, distant about sixty miles. So totally was Artaphernes unprepared for suppressing the revolt, and so little even for his own security, tho he had a considerable force with him, he immediately abandoned the town, and shut himself within the castle. The town was of course in universal tumult: the Grecian troops entered unopposed: plunder became their object, and in the confusion presently a

[5] Blair has placed the beginning of the Ionian revolt four years earlier, clearly in opposition to the account of Herodotus; which is the authority here preferred, as it has been also by Dodwell, for his Annales Thucydidei. Herodotus expressly says, that the war lasted but six years (1). From the end of it he very clearly marks three to the second year of the satrapy of Mardonius (2); and it does not appear that more than one passed afterward before Mardonius was superseded by Artaphernes and Daris (3), who immediately proceeded on the expedition against Greece, which Blair, with all other chronologers, places 490 years before the Christian era.

(1) b. 6. c. 18. (2) c. 31. 43 & 46. (3) c. 94.

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house was set on fire. For security in frequent earthquakes, to which that country is subject, light materials were preferred, as for the same reason they continue to this day to be, for the construction of dwellings. Most of the houses of the wealthy capital of Lesser Asia were meerly frames of timber with panels of reed: and though some had their walls of brick, yet the roofs were universally of thatch. The flame spred rapidly through a town so built. The inhabitants, Persians as well as Lydians, before without order or compact, solicitous every one for his own, were thus driven to assemble in the agora, and in the course of the torrent Pactolus which ran through the middle of it. Accident and necessity having collected them, they found themselves strong enough to attempt defence. The Greeks, stopped by the flames in their career of plunder, their principal object, and finding a large body of men to ingage, whose numbers were continually increasing, amid the hesitation of disappointment hastily determined to retire to mount Tmolus; whence, in the night, they prosecuted their retreat toward their ships. News of the transaction was quickly conveyed through the provinces within the river Halys. Troops hastened from all parts to Sardis; and the Persians, not yet accustomed to yield, marched immediately to seek the enemy, whom they found under the walls of Ephesus. A battle insued, in which the Greeks were intirely defeated; many of their principal officers were killed, and those of the survivors who avoided captivity, dispersed to their several cities. The Athenians, after this misfortune, recalled their ships; and, tho strongly solicited, would no more take part in the war.

The Ionians, nevertheless, continued to prosecute vigorous measures. Wisely avoiding farther at-

tempts by land, they confined their offensive operations to the sea. Their fleet sailed first to the Hellespont, and brought Byzantium, with the other Grecian towns on the Propontis, under their subjection or into their alliance. Then directing their course southward, they were equally successful with most of the Carian cities. About the same time Onesilus, king of Salamis in Cyprus, in pursuit of his own views of ambition, had persuaded all that iland to revolt against the Persians, except the city of Amathus, to which he laid siege. Receiving information that a Phenician fleet was bringing a Persian army to its relief, he sent to desire alliance with the Ionians, and assistance from their navy, as in a common cause. The Ionians, without long deliberation, determined to accept the alliance offered, and to send the assistance desired. The enemy however had landed their army before the Ionian fleet arrived; and on the same day, it is said, two battles were fought; between the Persians and Cyprians by land, and between the Ionians and Phenicians at sea. In the seafight the Greeks were victorious, the Samians particularly distinguishing themselves; but by land they were defeated: Onesilus was killed, and the Persians quickly recovered the whole iland.

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Herodot. l. 5. c. 103.

l. 5. c. 104.

But while victory thus attended the fleet of Ionia, the country was totally exposed to the superior land-force of the enemy. The Persian general Daurises, leading an army to the Hellespont, took the four towns Abydus, Percotë, Lampsacus, and Pæsus, in as many days. Then, informed that the Carians had ingaged in the revolt, he marched southward, and defeated that people in a great battle. The routed troops, joined by the Ionian army ventured and lost a second battle, in which the Ionians principally suffered. But Heracleides of Mylassa, general of the Ca-

l. 5. c. 106, & seq.

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rians, was one of those superior men who, acquiring wisdom from misfortune, can profit even from a defeat. The Persian army proceeded, with that careless confidence which victory is apt to inspire, as if nothing remained but to take possession of the Carian towns. A mountainous tract was to be passed. Heracleides, well acquainted with the country, silently preoccupied the defiles. The Persians, intangled among the mountains, were attacked by surprize: Daurises fell, with many officers of high rank, and his army was completely defeated.

But the resources of a vast empire inabled the Persians to act in too many places at once, for the Ionians to oppose them with any prospect of final success. When Daurises marched toward Caria, Hymeas had turned from the Propontis toward the Hellespont, and quickly recovered all the northern part of Æolia. At the same time Artaphernes himself, leading an army to the confines of Æolia and Ionia, took Cuma and Clazomenæ. Then assembling the bodies which had hitherto been acting separately, it became evidently his design to form the siege of Miletus, the head of the rebellion, by taking which he might finish the war. Aristagoras saw the gathering storm, and could see no means of withstanding it. Herodotus accuses him of pusillanimity, apparently without reason. Aristagoras knew that, however others might make their peace, there could be no pardon for him; and when he could no longer assist his country in the unequal contest into which he had led it, his presence might only inflame the enemy's revenge. He determined, therefore, to quit Miletus. He communicated this resolution to his fellowcitizens, and waiting to see Pythagoras, a man high in rank and esteem among them, appointed to the chief command in his room,

Herod. l. 5. c. 123, & seq.

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he sailed, with as many as chose to follow his fortune, to that territory on the river Strymon in Thrace, which Darius had given to Histiæus. Under his able management this colony was prospering when he was killed in besieging a Thracian town.

Herod. l. 5. c. 106, 107. l. 6. c. 1, & seq.

Histiæus, meanwhile, had obtained his release from his honorable imprisonment in the Persian court: Darius sent him to Sardis to assist in quelling the rebellion. But the Persian officers there, better informed than the ministers at Susa, were not disposed to trust him; and Histiæus, finding himself suspected, fled by night into Ionia, and passed to Chios. The Ionians, however, were not generally well inclined to him: some viewing in him the former tyrant, others the author of their present calamities and danger. His fellowcitizens the Milesians absolutely refused him admission into their town: but he found more favor at Mitylenë, where he obtained a loan of eight ships, with which he sailed to Byzantium. Apparently he had previous connection with the ruling party there. From that advantageous station he carried on piratical hostility against Greeks and barbarians, seizing the vessels of all states with which he had not some friendly ingagement.

Ol. 71. 3-4. B. C. 493. Dodw. ann. Th. Herodot. l. 6. c. 6, & seq.

It was now the sixth year of the war, when the Persian army sat down before Miletus. To assist its operations, which otherwise might have been ineffectual, a large fleet was collected, chiefly from Phenicia; but Cilicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, contributed. On the other side, the Panionian assembly was summoned, to deliberate on measures to be taken in circumstances so critical. It was there determined not to oppose the Persian army in the field; but to leave Miletus to its own defence by land, while every possible exertion should be made to increase their force at sea; and it was ordered

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that all the ships of war, which every state of the confederacy could furnish, should assemble at Ladë, a small iland overagainst the port of Miletus, and try the event of a naval ingagement[6]. The enumeration, given by Herodotus, of the trireme galleys sent by each state, is probably not unfounded, and may show in some degree the comparative strength of the Ionian cities. From Miletus came eighty, Prienë twelve, Myus three, Teos seventeen, Chios a hundred, Erythræ eight, Phocæa, weak since its capture by Harpagus and the emigration of its people, only three, Lesbos seventy, and Samos sixty; the whole making three hundred and fifty-three. This indeed appears a very great naval force for those little states to assemble and maintain; the ordinary complement for a trireme galley in that age, or very shortly after, being two hundred men. The crews of the Ionian fleet would thus be above seventy thousand. The number of the enemy's ships was much greater; Herodotus says it amounted to six hundred. Yet the Persian leaders had so little confidence in an armament of which little or no part was Persian, that they feared to risk a naval ingagement. But command of the sea was absolutely necessary to their final success by land. They had with them most of the Ionian and Æolian tyrants, who had been expelled from their several cities at the beginning of the revolt, and through these they endevored to practise separately upon

Herod. l. 7. c. 184.

[6] The site of Miletus has now long ceased to be maritime, and Ladë to be an iland. The bay on which that city stood has been gradually filled with the sand brought down by the river Latmus, and Ladë is an eminence in a plain. See Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, or rather the Voyage Pittoresque de la Grece, par M. de Choiseuil Gouffier. Myus, near the mouth of the Mæander, underwent earlier the same fate. Pausan. l. 7. c. 2.

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the squadron of each state. Complete pardon was promised to any who would quit the confederacy for themselves and their city; and threats indeed terrible were held out to those who should persevere in it. The men, they said, should be reduced to slavery, the boys should be made eunuchs; the virgins should be carried into Bactria, and the towns and territories should be given to others. Neither the offered favor, however, nor the threats were at first regarded. But disunion in command, the common effect of confederacies, prevailed in the Grecian fleet. A general relaxation of discipline insued; and at length the Samian leaders foreseeing nothing but ruin to the cause in which they were ingaged, began to listen to the proposals made to them from Æaces the expelled tyrant of their iland. Weighing the resources of their confederacy against those of the Persian empire, as Herodotus says for them, they judged that the contention on their part must in the end prove vain; since, should they, with all their disadvantage in numbers, prevail in the approaching action, still another fleet would unfailingly soon be raised against them. Urged by these considerations, they privately concluded a treaty.

The Persian leaders then no longer scrupled to quit the port and risk an ingagement. The Grecian fleet advancing to meet them, the Samian commander gave the signal to his squadron to set their sails. This clearly indicated intention to fly; for the antients in action used oars only. The captains of eleven galleys disobeyed the signal, and stood the battle; the rest sailed away. The line of battle of a fleet, among the antients, was that alone which in our sea-phrase is called the line of battle abreast:

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they met prow opposed to prow[7]. The station of the Samians had been in the extreme of one wing. The Lesbians, next in the line, disconcerted by the unexpected exposure of their flank, as well as by the alarming desertion of their allies, presently fled. The Chians remained firm; and, fighting with the most determined bravery against unequal numbers, suffered greatly. Even in their defeat, however, it appeared that, though the Phenician ships still excelled in swiftness, and their seamen in skill as mariners, yet the Greeks were advancing to a superiority in naval action above other nations. The Phocæan commander Dionysius, having with his three galleys taken three of the enemy's, when he found the battle irrecoverably lost, and the Ionian affairs consequently desperate, would return no more to Phocæa; but, directing his course to the coast of Phenicia, made prize of a number of merchant-ships. Having thus inriched himself and his crews, he sailed to Sicily to injoy himself there; and thence, as necessity or thirst of gain impelled, he exercised piracy against the Carthaginians and Tuscans.

The Persians now, masters of the sea, pressed the siege of Miletus, and at length succeeded in an assault. Most of the men within the place were killed: the rest, with the women and children, were led to Susa; testimonies to the great king of the diligence of his officers, and examples of terror to other conquered provinces. Darius however, according to the honorable testimony borne him by Herodotus, did them no other ill[8] than to settle them at Ampë on the Euphrates, near where that

[7] Ὥστε τριήρη ἀντίστροφον τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἄγεσθαι. Xenoph. Lac. Polit. c. 11.

[8] - - - - κακὸν δὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας. Herod. l. 6. c. 20.

river discharges itself into the Persian gulph. The rich vale of Miletus was divided among Persians; Carians were established in the mountainous part of its territory, Æaces, in reward for his service, was restored to the tyranny of Samos: but a large proportion of the Samian people emigrated to Sicily. In the time of Herodotus, when other revolutions had restored authority to the party adverse to tyranny and Persia, there stood a column in the agora of the city of Samos, with an inscription in honor of the eleven captains who had bravely fought in the common cause, at the risk of punishment for disobedience to their immediate commander. SECT. II.

Histiæus, on the reduction of Miletus, moved from Byzantium to Lesbos, where he seems to have had great interest. Thence, according to Herodotus, he carried on a piratical war, against the Greeks no less than against the Persians, in a manner which, notwithstanding numberless instances of extreme readiness in the Greeks at all times to make petty war among one another, appears rather unaccountable. At length, landing on the coast of Asia Minor for plunder, he was made prisoner by the Persian general Harpagus; and being sent to Sardis was there crucified. Herodot. l. 6. c. 26.

The Persian fleet wintered at Miletus. Sailing in spring, the ilands Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos, immediately submitted. The army at the same time proceeded against the Ionian towns; and the generals far otherwise disposed than their master, executed the full vengeance which they had threatened: the handsomest Grecian boys were made eunuchs, the most beautiful girls were carried off; the towns, and, as the Grecian writers particularly observe, without sparing the temples, were burnt. Herod. l. 6. c. 31, 32. Ol. 71. 4. B.C. 493.

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Herodot. l. 6. c. 33.

After the reduction of the ilands, the fleet sailed to the Hellespont. All on the Asiatic side was already subject to the Persians, and nothing on the European shore now stood against them. Devastation was spred by sword and fire. The Byzantines and Chalcedonians best avoided the storm, flying betimes with their most valuable effects, and planting the territory of Mesambria, far within the Euxine sea. The Phenicians burnt the empty towns; and then returning to the Hellespont, all the Thracian Chersonese immediately submitted, except the town of Cardia.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 34, & seq.

This peninsula, often called, by way of eminence, simply the Chersonese, had been planted by a colony of Athenians, whose history is not unimportant among the transactions of Greece and Persia. During the tyranny of Peisistratus at Athens, the Doloncian Thracians, antient inhabitants of the Chersonese, pressed in war by the Apsinthians, sent their chiefs to ask advice of the god of Delphi. The oracle directed them to invite into their country, to found a colony there, the first person who, after their quitting the temple, should ask them to the rites of hospitality. The Doloncians, directing their journey homeward, passed through Phocis and Bœotia, without receiving any invitation. Turning then into Attica, their way led them by the country-house of Miltiades son of Cypselus. That Athenian happening to be in his portico, and seeing men pass in a forein dress and carrying spears, accosted them, and offered refreshment. They accepted the invitation; and being hospitably entertained, they related the oracular response which they had received. Miltiades was of a very antient, honorable and wealthy family of Attica. Herodotus mentions, as a circumstance to ascertain its eminence, that it

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was a family accustomed to keep a chariot with four horses; probably meaning, as the critics have explained it, that the family of Miltiades had been accustomed to contend at the Olympian festival in the race of chariots with four horses; which certainly would imply considerable wealth in a country like Attica, little naturally adapted to breeding and keeping horses. Miltiades, himself popular and ambitious, was little friendly to Peisistratus, and thence was the more prepared to accept the invitation of the Thracians. Collecting therefore a number of Athenians, either disposed to his interest, or averse to the prevailing power, all of whom Peisistratus would gladly see depart from Athens, he established his colony, and was raised to the tyranny of the Chersonese. Dying childless, his authority passed, as a part of his estate, to his nephew Stesagoras, son of Cimon his brother by the mother. Stesagoras also died childless. His younger brother Miltiades was then at Athens, in favor with Hippias and Hipparchus[9]; who, whether with any ideä of legal claim of authority of the mother-country over the colony, or meerly to extend their own power, sent young Miltiades, at the same time to collect his inheritance, and to take upon him the public administration of the affairs of the Chersonese. It appears that the young chief carried his authority with a high hand: he kept a body of five hundred guards in constant pay: to strengthen his interest in the country, he married Hegesipylë, daughter of Olorus a Thracian prince; and Tyrant of the Chersonese is the title of Miltiades among all the earlier Greek historians[10].

[9] The Peisistratids. Herod. l. 6. c. 39.

[10] Chersonesi, omnes illos quos habitarât annos, perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem. Tyrannusque fuerat appellatus.

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Such was the state of things when Darius led his army into Europe. Miltiades then, yielding to a power which he was unable to resist, followed the Persian monarch's orders on the Scythian expedition. He is celebrated for having proposed among the Grecian chiefs to destroy the bridge over the Danube, which had been intrusted to their care, while Darius was in Scythia; hoping that so the prince and his army, between famine and the Scythian sword, might perish, and the Grecian states might thus be delivered from the Persian power. How far this proposal, certainly perfidious, can be justified upon Grecian principles either of philosophy or of patriotism, may be difficult to determine. We may however credit the assertion of Herodotus and Nepos, that interest more than integrity induced the other Grecian tyrants to oppose it: for they esteemed the supremacy of Persia the best security to their own authority against the democratical disposition of their people. Herodotus reports that an army of Scythians, bent upon revenging the Persian invasion, obliged Miltiades to fly the Chersonese. According to the same historian, however, he must have been popular in his government, at least among the Thracians, since, on the departure of the Scythians, they recalled him. We are not told that he took any active part in the Ionian revolt; but his flight from the Chersonese, after the defeat of the Grecian fleet off Miletus, shows that he knew himself obnoxious to the Persians. Putting his effects aboard five trireme galleys, he steered for Athens. The Phenician fleet pursued him, and took one of his galleys commanded by his eldest son. Here again Herodotus bears very

Herodot. l. 6. c. 137. Corn. Nep. v. Miltiad.

Herod. l. 6. c. 40, & Plutarch. de sera Num. Vind.

Corn. Nep. vit. Milt. The biographer adds, SED JUSTUS, and proceeds to explain the early Grecian sense of the term TYRANT.

honorable testimony to Darius. The son of Miltiades, as a prisoner of rank and consequence, was sent to receive his doom at Susa. But instead of punishment as a rebel, which his captors expected, Darius was liberal of favor to him, giving him an estate and a Persian lady for his wife, by whom he had a family which became numbered among the Persians. If Herodotus had authority for this anecdote, it may, together with the treatment of the captive Milesians, justify the opinion which he advances, that Darius would have pardoned even Histiæus, had he not been prevented by the jealous haste of his officers, who executed that unfortunate, but apparently little meritorious chief, without waiting for orders from the king.

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Herodot. l. 6. c. 30.

From the same impartial historian however we learn, that the superintendency of the Persian government over the conquered people was, in general, correspondent to the disposition of the monarch, liberal and mild. The first vengeance for the rebellion being over, the Ionians remaining in the country became again objects of care and protection. No mark of enmity was shown during the rest of that year, but very beneficial regulations, says the historian, were made[11]. Deputies from the cities were assembled, to advise about the means of keeping the peace of the country, and it was required of the several administrations to pledge themselves to one another that they would abstain from that piratical, thieving and murdering kind of petty war, to which the Greeks at all times and in all parts were strongly addicted; and that all controversies between cities, as between individuals, should be

[11] - - - - οὐδὲν ἐς νεῖκος φέρον, ἀλλὰ χρήσιμα κάρτα. Herod. l. 6. c. 42.

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determined by regular course of law[12]. It behòved Artaphernes then, for his own sake, to provide for the regular payment of the tribute to the Persian empire. But no new burthen was laid upon the conquered people; and to obviate that oppression which might arise from partiality, whether in the king's officers, or in the municipal governments, the whole country was carefully surveyed, and the extent of every state taken in the Persian measure of parasangs. The tribute, reälly but a kind of quit-rents for lands not originally belonging to the Greeks, was then equitably assessed on all; and to the historian's age the Ionians continued to profit from this beneficial arrangement.

SECTION III.

First Persian Armament against Greece under Mardonius: proceeds no farther than Macedonia. The Grecian Cities summoned by Heralds to acknowlege Subjection to the Persian Empire. Internal Feuds in Greece: Banishment of Demaratus king of Lacedæmon: Affairs of Argos: Banishment and Restoration of Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon: Death of Cleomenes: War of Athens and Ægina.

Ol. 72. 1. B.C. 492. Herodot. l. 6. c. 43.

In the second spring after the reduction of Miletus, a great change was made in the administration of the provinces bordering on the Grecian seas. Artaphernes was recalled, with most of the principal officers of his satrapy, and Mardonius, a young man of highest rank, who had lately married a daughter of Darius, was sent to take that great and important command. He led with him a very numerous army.

[12] - - - - ἵνα δοσίδικοι εἶεν, καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιέν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. Herod. l. 6. c. 42.

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On the coast of Cilicia he met a large fleet attending his orders; and, going aboard, he sailed to Ionia, leaving the army to be conducted by the generals under him, to the Hellespont. Revenge against Athens and Eretria for the insult at Sardis, was the avowed purpose of this formidable armament. But, considering all the best information remaining to us of the character of Darius and of the circumstances of the times, it appears highly probable that the same necessity for employing restless spirits, which had urged the Scythian expedition, was the principal motive also to the permission of this enterprize.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 44. Plat. Men. p. 240. t. 2. ed. Serran.

Mardonius seems to have been naturally disposed to extraordinary things. Arriving in Ionia, he deposed all the tyrants, and, apparently with the view to acquire popularity among a people whose willing service might be important, he established democratical government in every Grecian city; a measure so opposite to the general policy of Persia, that Herodotus speaks of it as a wonder next to incredible among the people of European Greece. Collecting then, from the Ionians and Æolians, a considerable addition to his forces, both of sea and land, he proceeded to the Hellespont, and passed into Europe. Excepting some wild hords of Thracian mountaineers, all to the confines of Greece already acknowleged subjection to Persia. Macedonia had formerly bought its peace by submitting to the humiliating ceremony of the delivery of earth and water. Tribute being now demanded, the Macedonian prince feared to refuse. But the elements and the barbarians, this time, stopped the progress of the Persian arms. The fleet, assailed by a storm, in doubling the promontory of Athos, lost no less than three hundred vessels, and, it was reported, twenty thousand men. In a sudden attack from the Bry-

l. 6. c. 44. & l. 7. c. 108. Chap. 6. sect. 3. of this Hist.

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gian Thracians, the army suffered considerably, and Mardonius himself was wounded. The march could not be safely prosecuted without subduing that people. This was effected; but the season was then so far advanced, and the fleet so shattered, that it was judged expedient for the whole armament to return to winter in Asia.

Ol. 72. 2. B. C. 491. Herodot. l. 6. c. 46, & seq.

The first object in the next spring was the little iland of Thasus, formerly the seat of the principal Phenician factory in the Ægeän sea; barren in its soil, but rich by its gold mines, and still more by those which its inhabitants possessed on the neighboring continent of Thrace. To secure themselves, rather than to offend others, the Thasians had lately employed a part of their wealth in building ships of war, and improving the fortifications of their town. An order came to them, in the name of the Persian king, to raze their fortifications, and to send all their ships of war to the Persian naval arsenal at Abdera. They obeyed. Then heralds were sent into Greece, demanding of every city acknowlegement of subjection to Darius by the delivery of earth and water. Many towns on the continent obeyed, and most of the ilands[15].

Herodot. l. 8. c. 30.

Greece was at this time so divided by internal feuds, that had its united force borne a nearer proportion to that of the Persian empire, still its circumstances would have seemed to invite the ambition of a powerful neighbor. The Thessalians, who should have guarded the northern frontier, and the Phocians, occupying the center of the country, bore toward each other a hatred so sharpened by the hos-

[15] Herodotus says ALL; but he afterward excepts the little ilands of Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos (1). Apparently he should also have excepted Eubœa and Crete; or at least most of their towns.

(1) b. 7. c. 46.

tilities of successive generations, that no interest could induce them to coalesce. The Thebans, and with them almost all Bœotia, careless of an independency adverse to peace, and little producing any happiness, submitted even zealously to the Persian commands. Athens, at declared war with Ægina, still nourished animosity against Lacedæmon; while, within Peloponnesus, the antient enmity of Lacedæmon and Argos had been revived and heightened by late events. SECT. III.

It is an old observation, which the history of nations gives frequent occasion to repeat, that circumstances in themselves the most trifling often lead to the greatest consequences. The antient enmity between Athens and Ægina, said to have originated about a wooden statue, appears to have contributed not a little to lead the Athenians to that determined opposition to Persia, and to that alliance of their state with Lacedæmon, which together, in saving Greece from subjection, gave the Grecian people to be what they afterward became. As soon as it was known at Athens that the Æginetans had acknowleged themselves subjects to Persia, ministers were sent to Sparta to accuse them as traitors to Greece. It was the character of the Spartan government to be cautious in enterprize, but unshaken in principle, firm in resolve, and immoveable by danger. Independency on any forein state was the great object of all its singular institutions; and far from bowing to a superior power, it had for some time been not unsuccessfully aspiring to dominion over others. The haughty demand of Persia therefore could not but find at Lacedæmon a determined refusal. Both there and at Athens the public indignation vented itself in barbarian inhumanity; the Persian heralds being with ignominy and scoffing put to death; at one place thrown into a pit, at the other into a well, Herod. l. 5. c. 82, & l. 6. c. 49. Herodot. l. 7. c. 133.

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and told there to take their earth and water. But the power of that vast empire was so reälly formidable, and in general opinion so nearly irresistible, that to find Athens heartily disposed to alliance in opposition to it, would be esteemed by the Lacedæmonians a circumstance the more fortunate, as the late enmity between the two commonwealths had been extreme. The Athenian ambassadors were accordingly very favorably received at Lacedæmon. Cleomenes, vehement in all his undertakings, went himself to Ægina, intending to seize the persons of those who had been forward in leading the people of that iland to the obnoxious measure. He was opposed and prevented in his purpose; but not without a remarkable acknowlegement of the authority of the Spartan state. It was replied to him, 'that 'he came meerly as an individual; the Æginetan 'people would have obeyed a regular order from the 'Lacedæmonian government.'

Herodot. l. 6. c. 50.

But the dissensions of the Grecian republics among one another were not more adverse to the general defence against a forein enemy, than the spirit of party which divided each internally. Lacedæmon itself was violently distracted. The two kings, Demaratus and Cleomenes, had been long at variance. The former endevored to excite the leading men against his collegue, absent on public service. The latter, on his return, no longer keeping any measure, asserted that Demaratus was illegitimately born; and incouraging Leotychidas, the next in succession of the Procleid family, to claim the crown against him, supported the pretension with all his interest. The legitimacy of Demaratus's birth was brought into reäl doubt; and where the judgement of men could not decide, recourse was had to the Delphian oracle. Herodotus, who

l. 6. c. 51, & seq.

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is not scrupulous of speaking freely of oracles, tells, upon this occasion, a very circumstantial story of bribery practised by Cleomenes to procure a response from the Pythoness favorable to his views; and the report indeed appears to have found general credit in Greece. Demaratus, in consequence of that response, was immediately deposed. Finding then his situation irksome, and perhaps unsafe in Sparta, he retired to the iland of Zacynthus; and persecution following him thither, he fled to the Persian court. Cleomenes, now unopposed in his measures, went, accompanied by Leotychidas, to Ægina; and such was the authority which reputation had acquired to their state, the Æginetan government, generally haughty enough through presumption in its naval force and the security of its insular situation, submitted implicitly to their commands. Ten of the principal men of the iland were arrested and sent to Athens, there to remain pledges of the fidelity of the Æginetan people to the Grecian cause.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 66.

Pausan. l. 3. c. 4.

The highly valuable early historian, to whom we owe almost all detail of occurrences in this age, little generally careful of the order of events in his narration, has left it uncertain to what precise time should be assigned some transactions, important in the consideration of the state of Greece. At this critical period, Cleomenes led a Lacedæmonian army into Argolis, surprized the Argians in their camp, and routed them with great slaughter. The fugitives took refuge in a consecrated wood, surrounding a temple. Such sacred groves, frequent in Greece, were generally held in the most scrupulous veneration. Cleomenes himself hesitated at the profanation which he meditated. But conformably to the superstition derived from ages before Homer, he re-

Herodot. l. 6. c. 74, & seq.

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garded only the affront to the gods, considered as unconnected with any crime against man, about which he had no scruple. Alluring some of the Argians thereof from their asylum, with a promise of ransom, he put them directly to the sword; and when his treachery was discovered, and he could allure no more, passion overbearing superstition, he set fire to the grove, and thus the rest were destroyed. Between the battle and the massacre, so large a portion of the Argian people perished, that the slaves rose upon the scanty remainder, overpowered them, and for some years commanded the city. The sons however of those slain by the Lacedæmonians, whether humanely spared, or by whatever good fortune escaping, when they had in sufficient number attained manhood, expelled the usurpers. These nevertheless possessing themselves of Tiryns, a negotiation insued, and a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded. From the tenor of Herodotus's account the new citizens of Tiryns seem to have deserved a better than their final fate. War being renewed against them, they were put to the sword, driven into exile, or again reduced to slavery.

It was supposed that Cleomenes, after the destruction of the Argian army, might have taken the city, but his wild fancy led him another way[14]. Sending home the greater part of his forces, he went, attended by a chosen escort, to the celebrated temple of Juno, near Mycenæ, to sacrifice there. The high priest of the temple remonstrated that the holy in-

[14] A romantic story is told, by later writers, of a poetess, Telesilla, who, at the head of the women, boys, and old men of Argos, repelled the assault of the Lacedæmonians (1). Had such a story had any credit in Herodotus's age, he was not of a temper to leave it unnoticed.

(1) Pausan. l. 2. c. 20. Polyæn. Strat. l. 7. c. 33.

stitutes forbad such intrusion of a stranger. Cleomenes, in the extravagance of his indignation, that he, of the blood of Hercules, king and priest, should be so denied, caused the high priest to be scourged by his attending Helots, performed the sacrifice himself, and then returned to Sparta. The party in opposition to him there were loud in complaint, not of his violation of the laws of war and of nations, but of his omission to attack Argos, which they imputed to corruption. A story, however, of a miraculous effulsion from the breast of the statue of the god whose grove Cleomenes burnt, an omen, it was insisted, clearly indicating that Argos was not to be taken, sufficed to stop the clamor. But after the expulsion of Demaratus the friends of that prince procured evidence so convincing of the corruption by which the oracle from Delphi had been obtained which occasioned his dethronement, that Cleomenes in alarm fled into Thessaly. The contest of factions however gave him opportunity soon to return into Peloponnesus, and in Arcadia he found or formed a party so strong that he proposed to excite war against his country. Fortunately his party in Lacedæmon, regaining the superiority, prevented that evil by procuring his recall to the throne.

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Herodot. l. 6. c. 82.

That wildness of Cleomenes, which had often approached frenzy, at length became lasting madness, and he was put under confinement. In this situation, obtaining a sword from a Helot, appointed to guard him, he deliberately cut himself piecemeal. The superstition of all Greece took an interest in this shocking deed. It was very generally attributed to the vengeance of the deity; but for different crimes, according to the various feelings and prejudices of the people of different states. With the Athenians, the injury done to a temple and its sacred

Herodot. l. 6. c. 75. Pausan. l. 3. c. 4. Plutarch, Apoph. Lac.

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precinct, in the invasion of Attica, was the offensive impiety. The Argians ascribed the divine wrath, most reasonably, to the treacherous massacre of their troops; but, more confidently, to those offences, in the general opinion of the age, more apt to excite divine indignation; the burning of the sacred grove, and the affront done to their protecting deïty Juno, in performing sacrifice contrary to the sacred institute, and in the injurious indignity to her priest. The other Greeks, less anxious about these injuries and offences to particular people and their peculiar deïties, held the sacrilegious collusion with the Pythoness, which ruined his collegue Demaratus, to have been that, among the many atrocious acts of Cleomenes, which most called for the vengeance of the powers above. But the Lacedæmonians, with whom, according to a common principle of Grecian patriotism, any breach of their own institutions was a greater enormity than the grossest violation of laws, human and divine, affecting other states only, imputed the fatal frenzy to meer drunkenness; a vice highly reprobated and rarely seen at Sparta, but to which Cleomenes was addicted.

These circumstances will not be deemed unworthy objects of history, when considered as they tend to mark the state of Greece, and the temper of its people, at that important period, when her little commonwealths were first assailed by the tremendous might of Persia. With the same view a petty war which insued between Athens and Ægina will deserve attention. The reader should cast his eye upon the map, and see there what Ægina is: Ægina was a formidable foe to Athens. Its rulers, having made their peace with Leotychidas, so as to obtain his mediation with the Athenian government, were still denied the restoration of their hos-

Herodot. l. 6. c. 85, & seq.

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tages. Bent therefore upon revenge, they intercepted a large galley, in which many Athenians of rank were going to an annual religious festival at Delos. But Ægina, like all other Grecian states, had its factions. The oligarchal now prevailed; and Nicodromus, a considerable man of the opposite party, had found it prudent to retire from his country. The present opportunity invited to connect his interest with that of Athens, always disposed to favor democracy. A plan of surprize was concerted with the Athenian administration, and Nicodromus, who had many friends in the iland, made himself master of that called the old town of Ægina. But the Athenians, not possessing a naval force sufficient to cope with the Æginetan fleet, had applied to Corinth, then in close alliance with them, for a loan of twenty ships. These arrived a day too late; the whole project failed; and Nicodromus, with many of his adherents, imbarking, fled to Attica. The Athenians allotted them a settlement near the promontory Sunium; whence they made continual assaults and depredations upon the Æginetans of the iland. The prevailing party in Ægina meanwhile vented revenge against the remaining persons of the opposite faction, so shocking that in these times it appears hardly credible; yet one circumstance only, of particular affront to a goddess, seems to have struck either the Greeks of that age, or the historian in the next, as any peculiar enormity. Seven hundred citizens were led out at once to execution. One of them, freeing himself from his bonds, fled to a temple of Ceres, and laid fast hold on the gate. His pursuers endevored to pull him away; but, his strength baffling them, they chopped off his hands, and, thus mangled, led him to suffer death with his fellows. The Æginetans were soon

Herodot. l. 6. c. 85, & seq. & Thucyd. l. 1. c. 41.

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after defeated in a naval ingagement. The Athenians then landed on the iland, and the Æginetans from Sunium were not likely to be advocates for mercy to their fellowcountrymen, while of a thousand Argians who had come to assist the Æginetans of the iland, the greater part were slain. Still, with their shattered navy, the Æginetans attacked the Athenian fleet by surprize and took four galleys.

SECTION IV.

Second Persian Armament against Greece under Datis and Artaphernes: reduces the Ilands of the Ægean: invades Attica. Battle of Marathon.

Such was the virulence of enmity among the Greeks toward oneanother, at the very time when the great storm was approaching from the East, which threatened a final period to that independency of their little republics, whence arose incitement and licence for those horrid violences. The small success of Mardonius, in his expedition, had probably afforded means for intrigue to take effect to his disadvantage in the court of Susa. He was recalled, and the command at Sardis was given to Artaphernes, son of the late satrap of that name, with whom was joined Datis, a Median nobleman, probably of greater experience. These generals, leading a landforce from the interior provinces, met the fleet on the coast of Cilicia. The conquest of Greece being the object, it was determined to avoid the circuitous march by Thrace and Macedonia. A sufficiency of transports having been collected, the whole army, cavalry as well as infantry, were imbarked, and coast-

Ol.72.2-3. B.C. 490.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 94, & seq. Plat. Men. p. 240. t. 2. & de Leg. l. 3. p.698 .t. 2.

ed Asia Minor as far as Samos. Thither the Ionian and Æolian troops and vessels were summoned. All being assembled, the generals directed their course across the Ægeän sea, first to Naxos. The inhabitants of that iland, notwithstanding their former successful defence, dared not abide this formidable armament: quitting their city they fled to their mountains. The Persians burnt the town, with its temples: the few Naxians who fell into their hands were made slaves. The fleet proceeded to the neighboring ilands, receiving their submission, and taking everywhere the children of the principal families for hostages. No opposition was found till they arrived at Carystus in Eubœa. The Carystians, with more spirit than prudence, declared they would neither join in hostilities against their neighbors and fellowcountrymen, nor give hostages. Waste of their lands, and siege laid to their town, soon reduced them to comply with whatsoever the Persian generals chose to command. SECT. IV.

The storm now approached Eretria. Punishment to that city was one of the declared objects of the armament. Little hope therefore could be entertained of good terms for the community. In this desperate situation of public affairs, temptation was strong for individuals to endevor, by whatsoever means, to secure themselves. While therefore a deputation was sent by public authority to request assistance from Athens, many of the citizens were for flying to the mountains; others were disposed to betray the city to the enemy; some of them thinking, perhaps not unreasonably, that beside gaining for themselves favorable terms, they might even lessen the horrors of capture to the city at large, by preventing the shock of arms, and the further irritation of an irresistible foe. The Athe- Herod. l. 6. c. 100, 101.

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nians so far complied with the request made to them, as to direct that the four thousand colonists, lately sent from Athens into Eubœa, should assist in the defence of Eretria. The aid would have been important, had the Eretrians been united in council and prepared for a siege: or had there been any reasonable prospect of farther relief from the rest of Greece. But Æschines son of Nothon, one of the principal citizens, seeing defence hopeless, advised the colonists, by a timely retreat, to reserve themselves for the protection of their native country, which would next be attacked; and which, if saved, might still afford, possibly even to the Eretrians, a refuge from Persian oppression. The colonists accordingly crossed to Oropus in Attica. The Persians soon appeared off the Eretrian coast. The little seaport towns of Chœreas and Ægilia were immediately abandoned, and there the army debarked. Among the Eretrians, the resolution had finally prevailed to defend the city. During six days the Persian assaults were vigorously opposed. On the seventh the place was betrayed by two of the principal citizens. The temples were plundered and burnt: the inhabitants were condemned to slavery.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 102. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 59.

The Persian generals allowed but a few days rest to their forces, before they crossed into Attica; having Hippias, formerly tyrant of that country, now of advanced age, it being the twentieth year from his expulsion, for their guide and counsellor. In this alarming situation of Greece, no measures had been concerted for general security. The Asian Greeks had been first subdued. The Persian dominion then extended itself into Europe, as far as the confines of Thessaly. All the ilands had now fallen. Eubœa, which might be reckoned an appurtenance

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of the Grecian main, was conquered. The Persian army passed the narrow channel which separates them, and still no league for common defence seems even to have been proposed. On the capture of Eretria, a messenger was sent from Athens to Lacedæmon with the news, and a request for assistance. The Lacedæmonians were at this time pressed by one of those rebellions in Messenia, so often resulting from their illiberal policy for the maintenance of their sovereinty over that country. Nevertheless they promised their utmost help; but their laws and their religion, they said, forbad them to march before the full moon, of which it wanted five days. As things now stood indeed, probability of successful opposition was so small, that perhaps we ought not to impute to any base or unreasonable selfishness the caution of the Lacedæmonian government, tho we should believe that policy or irresolution, more than religion, detained their army. The messenger, however, Pheidippides, a runner by profession, having performed his journey with extraordinary speed, related a story on his return, which might be not unavailing to inspire confidence into the Athenian populace. As he was going, he said, over the Parthenian mountain, above Tegea in Arcadia, the god Pan called to him by name. He stopped in obedience to the voice; when it proceeded, commanding him to tell the Athenians, 'That they were wrong 'in paying no worship to a deïty so well disposed to 'them, who had often served them, and intended 'them farther favor.' The worship of the god Pan was in consequence introduced at Athens.

Herod. l. 6. c. 106. Strabo, l. 9. p. 399. Plat. de Leg. p. 698. t. 2.

Herod. l. 6. c. 105.

There was fortunately at this time, among the principal Athenians, a man qualified both by genius and experience to take the lead on a momentous occasion, Miltiades, the expelled chief of the Cher-

Herod. l. 6. c. 103, & seq.

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sonese. Miltiades had not, immediately on his retreat to Athens, found it a place of secure refuge: a prosecution was commenced against him for the crime of tyranny[15]. In another season, however indefinite the crime, and however inapplicable every existing law to any act of the accused, a popular assembly might have pronounced condemnation. In the present crisis he was not only acquitted, but, after the common manner of the tide of popular favor, raised by the voice of the people to be one of the ten commanders in chief of the army[16]. Immediate assistance from Sparta being denied, it became a question with the ten generals, whether the bold step should be ventured of meeting the enemy in the field; or whether their whole diligence should be applied to prepare for a siege. It happened that opinions were equally divided; in which case, by antient custom, the polëmarch archon was to be called in to give the casting vote. The argument attributed by Herodotus to Miltiades upon this occasion, not only tends very much to explain both the politics and the temper of the times, but accounts satisfactorily why that able commander, contrary to every common principle of defensive war, was for risking at once a decisive ingagement with an enemy in number so very superior. 'It depends upon 'you,' said Miltiades in a conference with the polëmarch Callimachus, 'either to reduce Athens to 'slavery, or, by establishing her freedom, to leave an 'eternal memory of yourself among men, more glo-'rious than even Harmodius and Aristogeiton have 'acquired. For never before, since the Athenians

Herod. l. 6. c. 109.

[15] Ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. Herod. l. 6. c. 104.

[16] Στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδείχθη, αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δήμου. Herod. l. 6. c. 104.

'were a people, did a danger like the present threaten 'them. If, yielding to the Persians, they are deli- 'vered into the power of Hippias, let it be thought 'what their sufferings will be: but if they conquer, 'Athens will become the first city of Greece. Should 'they then, by your decision, be debarred from pre- 'sently ingaging the enemy, I well know that fac- 'tion will be dividing the minds of our citizens; 'and a party among them will not scruple to make 'terms with the Persians, to the destruction of the 'rest. But if we ingage before any corrupt dispo- 'sition prevails, the gods only dispensing equal favor, 'we are able to conquer.' The polëmarch yielded to this argument. SECT. IV.

The Persians had now, for two or three generations, been accustomed to almost uninterrupted success in war. They had many times ingaged the Greeks of Asia and Cyprus; and tho the accounts come to us from Grecian historians only, yet we read of no considerable defeat they had ever suffered, except once in Caria; when by the abilities of Heracleides of Mylassa, their general Daurises was surprized among defiles. The army under Datis and Artaphernes therefore advanced towards Athens, confident of superiority to all opposition in the field. Herodotus does not mention their numbers. According to Cornelius Nepos, they were a hundred thousand effective foot, and ten thousand horse: a very large force to be transported by sea from Asia: yet Plato, meaning probably to include the seamen and the various multitude of attendants upon Asiatic troops, calls the whole armament five hundred thousand; and Trogus Pompeius, according to his epitomizer Justin, did not scruple to add a hundred thousand more. Herodotus has not ventured either to report the numbers which the Athenians brought into the

Corn. Nep. v. Miltiad.

Plat. Men.

Justin. l. 2. c. 9.

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field; he only says they were very inferior to the Persians: and later writers have not less contradicted probability in diminishing the Grecian than in exaggerating the Persian force. According to Nepos and Pausanias, the Athenians were only nine thousand, and the Platæans, joining them with the whole strength of their little commonwealth, added only one thousand. But sufficient assurance remains to us, that Attica was capable of raising a greater force, and upon such an emergency it would exert its utmost[17]. The genius of Miltiades however, rather than the strength of Athens, appears upon this occasion the shining instrument in the hand of Providence for the preservation of Greece. It was no season for ceremony: abilities, wherever they were conspicuous, would of course have the lead. Of the nine collegues of Miltiades five gave up their days of command to him; and by their means

Corn. Nep. v. Miltiad. Pausan. l. 10. c. 20.

Herod. l. 6. c. 110. Plutarch. Aristid.

[17] Pausanias says that the battle of Marathon was the first occasion upon which the Athenians admitted slaves to military service (1); meaning probably to service with the freemen in the heavy infantry; because it appears from Herodotus to have been the ordinary practice to make slaves act as light troops. It seems a necessary inference, what we might otherwise indeed naturally suppose, that the utmost strength of Athens was exerted upon that occasion. But eleven years after, at the battle of Platæa, when the immediate danger to the Athenian people was much less pressing, and when a considerable part of their force was serving aboard the fleet, the Athenian troops in the confederate army were eight thousand heavy foot, attended by an equal number of light-armed slaves (2). Indeed at the time of the battle of Marathon, the accession to the Athenian forces from the colonists lately returned from Eubœa, would, according to Herodotus, be scarcely less than four thousand men. The same author informs us that the inhabitants of the little iland of Naxos, after the expulsion of a powerful party, formed no less than eight thousand regular heavy-armed foot (3). Upon the whole we cannot suppose the regular Grecian forces at Marathon fewer than fourteen or fifteen thousand, and the light-armed, slaves and others, would be at least an equal, and probably a much greater number.

(1) l. 1. c. 32. (2) Herod. l. 9. c. 28, 29. (3) l. 5. c. 30.

he had the majority of votes among the ten. Thus the extreme inconveniencies, to which the Athenian system lay open, were in a great degree obviated; and the unity, indispensable to the advantageous conduct of military business, was established. Miltiades, to his other advantages, joined that of having served with the Persians. He knew the composition of their armies, the temper of their troops, and the ordinary system of their generals. The Greeks, whose dependance was on their heavy-armed foot, formed in the deep order of the phalanx, usually began an ingagement with a few discharges of missile weapons, and then presently came to close fight with their long spears. The Persians made more use of the bow, and less of the spear; which with them was shorter than the Grecian spear, and they depended much upon their cavalry, of which the Greeks (excepting the Thessalians) from the nature of their country could have little. The defensive armor also of the Persian infantry was inferior to the Grecian. Herodotus has marked the difference in a speech of Aristagoras the Milesian to the Lacedæmonian assembly: 'The Persians go to battle,' he says, 'carrying bows and short spears, and wearing 'stockings and turbans.' The Greeks carried long spears and swords, and wore greaves and helmets[18]. SECT. IV. Herodot. l. 5. c. 49.

[18] Æschylus, who is said himself to have fought at Marathon, at Salamis, and at Platæa, adverts in several passages of his tragedy of The Persians to this difference of weapons. The chorus speaking of Xerxes says:

Ἐκάγει δυρικλύτοις αν-
δράσι τοξόδαμνον Ἄρην. p. 129. ed. H. Steph.

Afterward the characteristical weapons are put for the nations who bore them:

Πότερον τόξου ῥῦμα το νικῶν,
Ἢ δορυκράνου
Ἀόγκης ἰσχὺς κεκράτηκεν; p. 131.

and, still farther, Atossa asking concerning the Athenians,

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Herod. l. 6. c. 102. 107. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 58. Pausan. l. 1. c. 32. Wheeler's Jour. into Greece, b. 6. Chandler's Travels in Greece, c. 34. & foll. 6. Octob. Ann. Thu.

The Persian generals, guided by Hippias, had chosen their place of debarkation on the eastern coast of Attica, near Marathon. There on landing they were at once in a plain in which cavalry might act; and the way to Athens, between the mountains Pentelicus and Brilessus, was less difficult than any other across the heights which at some distance surround that city. The intire command which they possessed of the sea, made it necessary for Miltiades to wait for intelligence where they would make their descent. They had thus landed their whole force without molestation, and were already in possession of the plain, when the Athenian army appeared upon the hills above. But this plain was narrow: pressed between the sea eastward, and the hills westward, and closed at each extremity, on the north by a marsh, on the south by the hills verging round and meeting the sea. Miltiades, on view of the ground and of the enemy, determined to attack. The first object, in ingaging Asiatic armies, was to resist or to render useless their numerous and excellent cavalry; the next to prevent them from profiting by their superior skill in the use of missile weapons. The former might have been obtained by waiting among the hills: but there the heavy-armed Greeks would have been helpless against the Persian archers; whose fleet, whose numbers, and whose weapons, would inable them to attack on any side, or on all sides, or, avoiding a battle, to proceed to Athens. In a plain only they could be forced to that mode of ingagement in which the Greeks had greater practice, and for

Πόσσα γὰρ, τοξουλκὸς αἰχμὴ διὰ χερὸς γ' αὐτοῦς πρέπει; the chorus answers,

Οὐδαμῶς· ἔγχη ξαδαῖα, καὶ φοράσιδες σαγαί. p. 137.

which their arms were superiorly adapted; and the narrow plain of Marathon was peculiarly favorable. Confined however as the ground was, the Athenian numbers were still insufficient to form a line equal to that of the enemy, and in all points competently strong. Deciding therefore instantly his choice of difficulties, Miltiades extended his front by weakening his center. Daring valor indeed, guided by a discernment capable of profiting from every momentary opportunity, could alone balance the many disadvantages of his circumstances. Finding then his troops animated as he wished, he issued a sudden order to lay aside missile weapons, to advance running down the hill, and ingage at once in close fight. The order was obeyed with the utmost alacrity. The Persians, more accustomed to give than to receive the attack, beheld, at first, with a disposition to ridicule, this, as it appeared, mad onset. The effect of the shock however proved the wisdom with which it had been concerted. The Asiatic horse, formidable in champain countries by their rapid evolutions, but in this confined plain incumbered with their own numerous infantry, were at a loss how to act[19]. Of the infantry, that of proper Persia almost alone had reputation for close fight. The rest, accustomed chiefly to the use of missile weapons, were, by the rapidity of the Athenian charge, not less disconcerted than the horse. The contest was however long. The Persian infantry, successors of those troops who, under the great Cyrus, had conquered Asia, being posted

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Herodot. l. 6. c. 111.

c. 112.

c. 112.

[19] No account is given by Herodotus of anything done by the Persian horse, tho he speaks of it as numerous. The detail however which he afterward gives of actions of the Persian cavalry previous to the battle of Platæa, together with every description of the field of Marathon, sufficiently accounts for their inaction or inefficacy there.

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in the center of their army, stood the vehemence of the onset, broke the weak part of the Athenian line, and pursued far into the country. The Athenians, after great efforts, put both the enemy's wings to flight; and had the prudence not to follow. Joining then their divided forces, they met the conquering center of the Persian army, returning weary from pursuit; defeated it, followed to the shore, and amid the confusion of imbarkation made great slaughter. They took seven galleys. The Persians lost in all six thousand four hundred men. Of the Athenians, only one hundred and ninety-two fell; but among them were the polëmarch Callimachus, Stesileos one of the ten generals, Cynægeirus, brother of the poet Æschylus, and other men of rank, who had been earnest to set an example of valor on this trying occasion. The highest praise of valor was however very equally earned by the whole army, whose just eulogy will perhaps best be estimated from an observation of the original historian: 'The Athenians who fought at Marathon,' says Herodotus, 'were the first among the Greeks 'known to have used running, for the purpose of 'coming at once to close fight; and they were the 'first who withstood (in the field) even the sight of 'the Median dress, and of the men who wear it; 'for hitherto the very name of Medes and Persians 'had been a terror to the Greeks[20].'

Herodot. l. 6. c. 113.

c. 117.

c. 114.

c. 112.

Such is the account given of this celebrated day by that historian, who lived near enough to the time

[20] Those honest confessions of Herodotus, which have given so much offence to Plutarch, we find all more or less confirmed by the elder writers of highest authority. Thus Plato: Αἱ δὲ γνῶμαι δεδουλωμέναι ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν· ὅτου πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ μάχιμα γένη καταδεδουλωμένη ἦν ἡ Περσῶν ἀρχή. Menexen. p. 240.

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to have conversed with eyewitnesses[21]. It is modest throughout, and bears general marks both of authentic information and of honest veracity. The small proportion of the Athenian slain perhaps appears least consistent with the other circumstances. Yet it is countenanced by authentic accounts of various battles in different ages, and particularly by those in our own history, of Crecy, Poitiers, and above all, of Agincourt. When indeed the whole front of the soldier was covered with defensive armor, slaughter seldom could be great, but among broken troops, or in pursuit. We are however told that a part of the Athenian army was broken. If it might be allowed to the historian at all to wander from positive authority, the known abilities of Miltiades, and his acquaintance with the temper and formation of the Persian army, added to the circumstances of the action, would almost warrant a conjecture that the flight of his weak center was intended purposely to lead the flower of the enemy's forces out of the battle, and fatigue them with unprofitable pursuit. The deep order in which the antients fought, would perhaps make such a stratagem not too hazardous for daring prudence, under urgent necessity of risking much. Writers who have followed Herodotus, in describing this memorable day,

[21] There are two expressions in his sixth book (1) which have been understood by some to import that he had himself conversed with Epizelus son of Cuphagoras, who had been deprived of his eyesight, according to his own account, in a very extraordinary manner, during the action at Marathon; but the critics seem to have determined that those expressions mean no more than that the historian had heard the account of Epizelus reported by others (2). But Herodotus, having been born, according to the chronologers, only six years after the battle of Marathon, might very possibly have conversed with persons present at it.

(1) c. 117. (2) See note 14. p. 493. of Wesseling's edition.

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have abounded with evident fiction, as well as with fulsome panegyric of the Athenians, and absurd obloquy on their enemy[22].

Still, however, after the defeat at Marathon, the Persian armament was very formidable; nor was Athens, immediately by its glorious victory, delivered from the danger of that subversion with which it had been threatened. The Persian commander, doubling Cape Sunium, coasted the southern shore of Attica, not without hope of carrying the city by a sudden assault. But the Athenians had a general equal to his arduous office. Aware of what might be the enemy's intention, Miltiades made a rapid march with a large part of his forces; and when the Persians arrived off the port of Phalerum, they saw an Athenian army incamped on the hill of Cynosarges which overlooks it. They cast anchor; but, without attempting anything, weighed again and steered for Asia. They carried with them their Eretrian prisoners, who were conducted to the great king at Susa. The humane Darius settled them on an estate his private property, at Ardericca in the province of Cissia, about twenty-four miles from his capital; where their posterity, for centuries, retained characteristical marks of a European origin.

Herod.l.6. c.115,116.

Herod l. 6. c. 119.

Herod. ibid. & Philostr. vit. Apoll.

On the next day after the battle, a body of two thousand Lacedæmonian auxiliaries arrived. They had marched instantly after the full of the moon, and had so pressed their way, that they are said to have reached Athens in three days after leaving

Herodot. l. 6. c. 120. Isocr. Pan. p. 120. t. 1.

[22] The extravagance of Justin's tale may lessen our regret for the loss of the great work which he has epitomized. Had Herodotus, among all his muses, given one romance so absurd as Justin's account of this battle, he might have deserved some portion of the abuse with which calumny has singularly loaded him. Among later authors the concise narrative of Cornelius Nepos is by far most deserving attention.

Sparta, tho great part of the road was over a mountainous country, and the computed distance at least a hundred and twenty English miles[25]. Disappointed, both for themselves and for their commonwealth, to have so missed their share in an action which could not but reflect uncommon glory on those who had partaken in it, they would however proceed to the field, to view the slain of that enemy who now for the first time had come from so far to attack Greece, and whom report made universally so formidable. Having gratified their curiosity, they returned to Lacedæmon, not without bestowing those praises which Athenian valor had so fairly earned. Tho the force thus sent so late, was apparently very small, both for the urgency of the occasion and for the ability of Lacedæmon, yet the pretence of religion, and the zeal shown in the rapidity of the march, were accepted as excuses; and it does not appear that the Athenians at the time, or their orators or writers afterward, imputed any blame to the Lacedæmonian government or people.

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SECTION V.

Growing Ambition of Athens. Effects of Party-spirit at Athens. Extraordinary Honors to the Memory of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Impeachment and Death of Miltiades.

It is particularly in the nature of democratical government for ambition to grow with success. No sooner were the Athenians delivered by the victory

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[25] The distance, according to Isocrates, was twelve hundred Grecian stadia, which, at eight stadia to the mile, would be a hundred and fifty miles; at ten stadia, a hundred and twenty.

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of Marathon from impending destruction, than they began to meditate conquest. Almost all the ilands of the Ægean were obnoxious for their ready submission to the Persian summons; and some even for their exertions in the Persian cause. Miltiades was sent with seventy ships to exact fines from them for their delinquency; and, as far as might be, using the newly-acquired naval power, in imitation of the practice of Lacedæmon on the continent, to reduce them under the authority, or at least the influence of the Athenian government. Paros resisting, siege was laid to its principal town: but in twenty-six days no impression was made. Miltiades then, himself dangerously wounded, led back his armament to Athens, without having effected anything, according to Herodotus, but the ravage of that one iland.

Herod. l. 6. c. 132, & seq. Corn. Nep. v. Miltiad.

Athens has been accused of black ingratitude and gross injustice for the treatment of this great man which immediately followed. It has been endevored, on the other hand, by the zealous partizans of democratical rule, to justify his doom on those severe principles of patriotism, which deny all rights to individuals, where but a suspicion of public interest interferes. But whoever will take the pains to connect the desultory but honest narration of Herodotus, may find, and everything remaining from Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, and all the orators, anyway relative to the subject, will confirm it, that neither ingratitude, nor patriotism, decided the majority in the Athenian assembly upon this occasion; party-spirit still was the great mover of their politics.

It has been said by Herodotus, and repeated by Thucydides, that, not Harmodius and Aristogeiton,

Herod. l. 6. c. 123.

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as the vulgar in their time believed, but the Alcmæonid faction delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Peisistratids. But a party which had so long directed the affairs of the commonwealth, and so wisely, so virtuously, and so beneficially as that of the Peisistratids, would be too firmly and extensively rooted to be at once annihilated by the expulsion of its chiefs. The Alcmæonids had beyond all things to dread the reflux of popularity toward that party: and it seems therefore to have been a studied policy to hold out the names of Harmodius and Aristogeiton to public esteem, while nothing was left untried to brand the memory of the Peisistratid administration. Hence the very extraordinary honors paid to the memory of the assassins of Hipparchus: hence the meer revenge of a private quarrel elevated to the dignity of tyrannicide and assertion of public liberty. The celebration of the deed by songs was made a regular part of the ceremony of the great Panathenæan festival. The custom was introduced, even at private entertainments, always to sing the song of Harmodius and Aristogeiton[24]. Statues of the patriots, made by the ablest artists, at the public expence and of the most costly materials, were erected in different places of greatest resort in the city[25]. It was forbidden, by a particular law, to give their names to slaves. Obsequies were appointed to be periodically performed to their memory, under the direction of the polëmarch archon.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 20. & l. 6. c. 53, & 59.

[24] This song, the most antient composition of its kind extant, may be seen, with an elegant Latin translation, in Bishop Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry; and an elegant English translation, in which the turn of expression of the original has been very happily imitated, is among the poems of Mr. Pye.

[25] The laborious Meursius, in his Peisistratus, has collected accounts of many of these statues from various antient authors.

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Particular honors, privileges, and emoluments were decreed to their families. And to conclude all, in terror to future invaders of public liberty, but principally in terror to the living enemies of the Alcmæonid party, promises were held out, by public authority, that future sufferers in the cause of freedom (for by that sacred name the Alcmæonids described their own cause) should be equally honored with Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Attention to these circumstances, as effects of party, is necessary for understanding, in any degree, the domestic politics of the Athenian commonwealth.

The glory of Miltiades, diminishing the consequence, excited the envy of the Alcmæonids. He-

Herodot. l. 6. c. 121.

rodotus mentions a report that they had gone so far as to hold a traitorous correspondence with the Persians under Datis and Artaphernes, and communicated intelligence to them by signals. He professes indeed that he thought this incredible; and the circulation of such a report may perhaps best be considered as one among the innumerable proofs, how busy and how virulent, in calumny, faction was at Athens[36]. On the other hand, the ill will of the Alcmæonids to Miltiades did not remain dubious. The security of the commonwealth, which that great man's abilities had procured, had made those abilities less immediately necessary; and his failure at Paros afforded means of ruining him with a fickle multitude, possessed of despotic authority. Xan-

[36] Narratam sibi, vel ab aliis scripto mandatam, Atheniensium quorumdam, suspicionem tot argumentis repellit Herodotus, ut in his etiam vexandis modum excessisse videatur Plutarchus: de Herod. Malign. Valcken. not. ap. Wessel. Herod. l. 6. c. 121. Plutarch has indeed, throughout that treatise, exceeded all measure of reason, and little regarded argument.

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thippus, one of the principal men of Athens, who had married a niece of Megacles, the great opponent of Peisistratus and chief of the house of Alcmæon, conducted a capital accusation against him. When Miltiades was to answer before the people, he was so ill, from his wound, as to be unable to rise from his bed. In his bed therefore he was brought into the assembly, where he lay, a melancholy spectacle, while his cause was pleaded by his friends. He was acquitted of capital offence, but condemned in a fine of fifty talents, above twelve thousand pounds sterling; and being unable immediately to pay such a sum, it was proposed by his opponents, and actually ordered by the assembly, that he should be carried, ill as he was, to the common prison. But the prytanis, whose office it was to execute the severe injunction, indignant at the unworthy treatment of a man to whom his country owed so much, had the courage to disobey. Within a few days, a mortification in the wounded limb brought Miltiades to his end; yet the fine, rigorously exacted from his family, was paid by his son Cimon[27].

Herod. l. 6. c. 131, & 136. Corn. Nep. v. Miltiad.

[27] Cornelius Nepos, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, and Justin, all affirm, that Miltiades was thrown into the common prison, and died there; and they add some circumstances to improve the story. On such a concurrence of authority, I thought myself warranted to report the simple circumstance (tho Herodotus had omitted mention of it) that Miltiades died in prison. But looking into Bayle's Dictionary, in the article Cimon, I found this passage: 'Herodote, parlant du proces de Miltiade, 'ne dit rien, ni de la prison du pere, ni de la prison du fils; & 'il insinue clairement que Miltiade ne fut point emprisonné;' and a little farther this quotation from Plato: Μιλτιάδην δὲ, τὸν ἐν Μαραθῶνι εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν πρύτανιν, ἐνέπεσεν ἄν (1). Upon reconsidering the matter, I intirely agree with the learned and ingenious critic that it is

(1) Plat. Gorg.

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clearly implied in the account of Herodotus, that neither Miltiades nor Cimon was imprisoned (2); and Plato's testimony so confirms this, that I do not hesitate to reject the reports of the later writers. Bayle translates βαράθρον, I think properly, le Cachot. Originally that word is said to have been the name of a deep pit in Attica, which in early times, was used as a place for capital punishment, by throwing criminals headlong upon sharp stakes fixed at the bottom. That cruel mode of execution was, we are told, by the advice of an oracle (3), afterward disused, and the pit was filled; the name nevertheless remaining as a common term for a dungeon.

(2) b. 6. c. 136. (3) Schol. in Plut. Aristoph. v. 431.

END OF VOLUME I.



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